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# Public Art and Patronage: A Collective Study of Four of Buffalo, New York's Early Monuments, 1882-1907

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Public Art and Patronage:  
A Collective Study of Four of Buffalo, New York's Early Monuments, 1882-1907

An Abstract of a Thesis in  
Museum Studies

by

Drew Boyle

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of:

Master of Arts  
August 2018

State University of New York  
College at Buffalo  
Department of History and Social Studies Education

### **Abstract**

The goal of this paper is to investigate the motivations of the patrons behind four of Buffalo, New York's early monuments. These are the *Soldiers and Sailors Monument* (1882), the *Lincoln, The Emancipator Monument* (1902), the *Red Jacket Monument* (1890), and the *McKinley Monument* (1907). Each section contains historical context regarding the time period, critical events that influenced the monument, comparisons to similar monuments in the United States, and the narratives of the monument's dedication and ceremonies. When grouped together, the historical context provided for each monument essentially plays into the motivations behind why each monument was erected. Lastly, the physical features described in each section demonstrates the ideas examined through the historical context of each section. In the past, Buffalo's monuments have been individually studied. However, through this paper, the four monuments will be collectively studied and made relatable through what their patrons meant for them to symbolize. In doing so, this paper not only determines the motivations behind each monument, it also provides an insight to which groups of citizens controlled the commemoration of past events and historical figures in Buffalo between 1882 and 1907.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

In an article from the *Buffalo Courier-Express* dated from December 22, 1946, the city of Buffalo, New York wondered why World War II soldiers were not being honored with any monuments.<sup>1</sup> The answer to that question was simple as the author of the article stated, “being cast in bronze isn’t the honor it used to be.”<sup>2</sup> Dr. Andrew C. Ritchie, head of the then Albright Art Gallery, went as far as to calling some of Buffalo’s monuments “downright hideous” and credited the “living memorial” such as a hospital or playground as being the more popular form of commemoration.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, critics of the time period even went as far as regarding Buffalo’s monuments as “mediocre.”<sup>4</sup> However, the deeper meaning behind this article is in the opening sentence: “Buffalo’s history and spirit is reflected in its monuments.”<sup>5</sup>

As seen by this article, by the 1940s, public monuments had seemingly fallen out of favor in the City of Buffalo. However, a digression back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth reveals a strikingly different sentiment regarding the city of Buffalo and public monuments. As a form of public art, public monuments such as statues, sculptures, and architectural works became prominent in the period after the American Civil War. Monuments during this time period began with memorials to Civil War soldiers but eventually stemmed off to commemorate other heroic figures in American History. This golden age of American monument construction began in

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<sup>1</sup> “War II Heroes Have No Future in Stone Here: Statuary Memorials Losing Their Appeal,” *Buffalo Courier-Express* (Buffalo, NY), December 22, 1946, 2-B.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

1870 and ended in 1910. As a reflection of, “Buffalo’s history and spirit” the various forms of public art constructed in this age related to the time period it was constructed in, as well as the patrons who paid for the erection of these monuments.

The relationship between public art and patronage is essential in understanding the meaning of public art. Those who paid and advocated for the construction of monuments had specific goals in mind. Combining wealth, politics, and social influence, the patrons of Buffalo’s early monuments essentially had the power to control what the “spirit of Buffalo” meant. This paper strives to decipher what the patrons of four early public art projects in Buffalo, New York, meant for them to symbolize. The four monuments examined are *The Soldiers and Sailors Monument*, the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* monument, the *Red Jacket Memorial*, and lastly, the *McKinley Monument*. A literature review is also provided at the beginning of this work to offer a history of public art in the United States as well as key themes and time periods that pertain to the role of patronage in public art.



## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

Cher Krause Knight's, *Public Art: Theory, Practice, and Populism*, offers a number of ideological standpoints and questions pertaining to public art and its relationship to the public realm. Knight's work offers a short history of public art in the United States, citing the 1870s, with the effort of Henry Fox and Charles Howell in creating the Fairmount Park Association, the U.S.'s first private nonprofit organization focused on including art into urban planning, as one vital and early effort in incorporating art into cities. Other events cited are the city beautification movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Great Depression and the New Deal's effort to provide artists with work, and lastly, the formalized and supported role of public art that was undertaken by the Kennedy administration in the 1960s.<sup>6</sup>

With these key events highlighted, Knight makes a handful of observations that pertain to patronage and public art. In the chapter, "Not Quite 'Art' Not Quite 'Public': Lessons from the Private Sector," the author states, "throughout history, individual patrons have funded artworks in public places, for public purposes, or to express publicly held sentiments."<sup>7</sup> One example of such were the programs within the New Deal, as they, "politicized culture within specifically populist terms, projecting an image of, 'social utopia,' to be achieved through capitalist means. Stereotypes of the modern artist as an aloof loner or self-determined recluse were replaced with notions of the, 'productive worker,' and, 'good citizen,' loyal to the nation."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Cher Krause Knight, *Public Art: Theory, Practice, and Populism*, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

By this example regarding the New Deal and government funded art, it can be concluded that public art, when individually funded, can represent the ideals of its patron, as well as to achieve a goal. Further reading reveals a relationship between public art and money, particularly outlining that privately funded projects by patrons impose fewer restrictions due to an economic hierarchy. In this context, patrons can promote more singular views.<sup>9</sup> As Knight mentioned, the New Deal incorporated, “populist terms,” into its funded projects. As a public institution, the government needed to represent the views of its own patrons, its citizens.

The connection between patronage and public art is once again studied extensively in Harriet F. Senie’s and Sally Webster’s work titled, *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content: Context, and Controversy*. Overall, the book offers various case studies of problems that have been associated with public art throughout the history of the United States. Part II of the work is the most focused on in this paper. Titled, “Politics, Patronage, and Public Art,” the section features several case studies written by different authors that pertain to public art and its relationship to those who provide funds for its creation.

The chapters within this section include, “Political Compromise in Public Art: Thomas Crawford’s *Statue of Freedom*,” by Vivien Green Fryd, which studies the political motives behind the creation of Thomas Crawford’s, *Statue of Freedom*, in Washington D.C. “The *Ulysses S. Grant Memorial* in Washington D.C.: A War Memorial for the New Century,” by Dennis R. Montagna, associates the monument’s erection by its patrons to be a symbol of the United States’ new found international power in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. “New Deal for Public Art,” by Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz examines the ideals of democracy and collectiveness placed within the murals of the Works Progress Administration through the funds of the United States

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 93.

Government. To end this section, John Wetenhall in his chapter, “Camelot’s Legacy to Public Art: Aesthetic Ideology in the New Frontier,” talks about the Kennedy Administration’s support of grants for artists as a representation for the national interest of the United States Government. Excluding the *Statue of Freedom*, all of these case studies fall within the time periods highlighted by Cher Krause Knight’s, *Public Art: Theory, Practice, and Populism*.<sup>10</sup>

Ultimately, the section, “Politics, Patronage, and Public Art,” defines patronage as, “an expression of self-interest.” Therefore, “public art, in overt and covert ways embodies the ideals and aspirations of its patron, be it a national government, a local community, an individual, or a corporation.”<sup>11</sup> However, Senie and Webster remark that sometimes the message being promoted through public art is not always as clear as it seems and a closer look is often required. This is especially evident in the traditional genre of monuments and memorials, whose messages may seem clear, but are in fact subversive.<sup>12</sup> What this ultimately means is that in order to understand Public Art, its background must be researched thoroughly in order to completely comprehend the motives of its patrons.

In Vivien Green Fryd’s chapter, “Political Compromise in Public Art,” Thomas Crawford’s, *Statue of Freedom*, is a prime example of the outcome of careful research in uncovering the unseen ideals of a monument’s patrons. Erected before the American Civil War, the statue, situated in Washington D.C., had to represent a compromise between North and South. As it was a government funded monument, one of its patrons was Jefferson Davis, future president of the Confederacy and the United States Secretary of War from 1853 to 1857. As a slaveholder from Mississippi, Davis rejected Crawford’s second design of the monument

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>11</sup> Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster, “Politics, Patronage, and Public Art,” In *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1992), 101.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

because of the presence of a liberty cap, worn by the statue. To Davis, the cap did not represent American Liberty but that of Ancient Roman culture from which it derived from. In Ancient Roman context, liberty was closely tied with the liberation of slaves, who were then allowed to wear that cap.<sup>13</sup>

Although the *Ulysses S. Grant Memorial* in Washington D.C. reflected an image of the Civil War period in American History, Dennis R. Montagna, in, “The *Ulysses S. Grant Memorial* in Washington D.C.: A War Memorial for the New Century,” once again displays that a closer look at a monument is required to fully understand the motives behind its patrons. Montagna states that, “by the end of the century, many Americans worried their culture would become too civilized.”<sup>14</sup> Americans worried that their warrior mentality would disappear from their culture, leaving them defenseless against foreign powers.<sup>15</sup> The outcome of this ideology led to a change in the perception of the Civil War, as Americans abandoned its notion as a lesson in tragedy, and instead the most dramatic of many struggles the nation had faced in the past and would continue to in the future.<sup>16</sup>

To meet these struggles head on, the United States began to use Civil War imagery to represent the nobility of self-sacrifice and military preparedness.<sup>17</sup> The Grant Memorial Commission, headed by Grenville Dodge, a former Union general, approved the design of sculptor Henry Merwin Shrady and architect Edward Pearce Casey because of the lack of references it made to peace or reunification. Both being seen as negative progress in civilization.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 121.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 118.

The leader of the Grant Memorial Commission, General Grenville Dodge, was a strong advocate for military preparedness himself, as he had influences in both the government as a one term congressman from Iowa as well as a businessman and railroad entrepreneur in the years following the Civil War.<sup>19</sup> Dodge stressed military preparedness as a means to expand American Imperialism throughout Cuba and the Philippines, and even called for the military to be enlarged over its 28,000 man limit in the late 1870s.<sup>20</sup> Once again, it can be concluded that a monument, like the *Ulysses S. Grant Memorial* in D.C., requires research of its patrons to discover the cognitive meaning behind it.

In, “A New Deal for Public Art,” by Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, seeks to move its reader beyond the idea of public art being individualistic of the artist, to instead being a component of a larger group of artworks manifested with the values of its patron, the U.S. Government. New Deal Art, primarily but not limited to Art-Deco murals, existed because of the Work Progress Administration’s Federal Art Project, which sought to aid artists who were left unemployed.<sup>21</sup> In the opening of the section, “Politics, Patronage, and Public Art,” Senie and Webster remark, “governments sponsor art only when they perceive it to be in their best interest.”<sup>22</sup>

With this remark, the Federal Government saw a benefit in providing artists federally sponsored work. As the government expanded its power into the economic realm of American lives, its officials sought to protect its image and therefore projected themselves as the upholders of the welfare of ordinary citizens.<sup>23</sup> The outcome was the depiction of the lives of everyday

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 137.

Americans. Some include a farmer putting away cows in his barn, citizens marching in a hometown parade, laborers washing up after work, and neighbors talking over the fence. All of which were examples of, “the common man,” a symbol of both democracy and the government’s concern for the well-being of its citizens.<sup>24</sup>

The Works Progress Administration served as models for federal programs created in the 1960s for public art.<sup>25</sup> However, the National Endowment for the Arts, created in 1965, revolutionized Public Art, as it offered federal funds to local organizations to erect art at public sites.<sup>26</sup> John Wetenhall in his chapter, “Camelot’s Legacy to Public Art: Aesthetic Ideology in the New Frontier,” identifies the government’s motives for the support of public art as a reservation of individualism and American culture during the Cold War Era

The renewed support of Public Art, left at a standstill after 1943, began in August of 1961, when Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg was personally asked by president John F. Kennedy to settle a salary dispute between the Metropolitan Opera and its workers. The two sides reached an agreement, however, Goldberg recognized that the federal support of the arts could have potentially increased funds for the opera, allowing them to pay their employees adequate salaries.<sup>27</sup>

President Kennedy recognized that the freedom of the artist was a key virtue within American values. In the era of the Cold War, he recognized that the limit of creativity had the possibility of putting the United States on the path of totalitarianism.<sup>28</sup> With the passing of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965 under the Johnson Administration, federal funds for

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 152.

public art were placed within the hands of individuals, who were then free to engage themselves in expressing the American fundamental of individualism.

The section, “Politics, Patronage, and Public Art,” in Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster’s work, *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, depicts public art has being a reflection of its patron. As it is communicated, patrons can be individuals, a local community, or a governmental body. It is through them that the true motivations of public art can be seen, often requiring careful research of the patron’s background, the time period, and the outcome of the artwork’s physical features.

Thomas J. Brown, the author of, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, relates to Senie and Webster’s work as it examines the motivations of patrons behind the public art of Civil War commemoration. However, Brown’s focus is the immediate period after the Civil War’s end. Patrons within this time frame were influenced by several phases of Civil War Commemoration. Beginning with the end of the war in 1865, commemoration has transitioned into several phases. In studying the motivations behind these alterations in its remembrance, Brown strives to relate five case studies of public art monuments into their respected phase of Civil War Commemoration. The book dedicates special attention to public monuments, a form that peaked at its popularity in the period from the 1850s, through the phases of Civil War commemoration that began immediately following the war and ending in the 1920s.<sup>29</sup> These include examples pertaining to the citizen soldier, women of the war, Robert E. Lee, the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, and lastly, Abraham Lincoln.

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas J. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004), 5.

Brown identifies the construction of monuments as, “a political process that routinely requires sponsors to obtain public space, agree on a design, and raise funds.”<sup>30</sup> Progressing back to *Harriet F. Senie’s. Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, the connection between patronage, politics and public art is most evident in the genre of monuments and memorials.<sup>31</sup> With this connection, it can be justified that both the phases and monuments within the category of Civil War Commemoration relied upon the hand of its patrons.

Remembrance of the war is quite complex, as it takes several forms of diverging ideas that existed between the opposing sides. Early commemoration in the North involved Abraham Lincoln’s appeal to, “the mythic chords of memory.”<sup>32</sup> This notion placed an important role on the experiences and sacrifices of soldiers, which Lincoln hoped could sow the seeds of reunification. As the Civil War possessed a horrific death toll, public commemoration in the North turned to remembering its fallen soldiers. Death had a more symbolic meaning as well. To many citizens in the North, the death of soldiers related to the death of the nation during the war. With its ending, the idea of rebirth, forged from religious narratives by Lincoln and others, led to an appeasement of Confederate veterans as an increased tendency to look favorable upon them took hold in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

During the Civil War, Northerners had often combined racism with hatred of the Confederacy. However, Brown remarks that portrayal changed at the centennial anniversary of the American revolution, as well as the 1875 anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord. It was here that General Francis Bartlett, a Union veteran from Massachusetts remarked, “as an American, I am as proud of the men who charged so bravely with Pickett’s

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Senie and Webster, 101.

<sup>32</sup> Brown, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.,



division on our lines at Gettysburg, as I am of the men who so bravely met and repulsed them there.” Several Blue-Gray reunions in the 1880s reinforced this idea, as well as the 1895 dedication of a Chicago monument that recognized Confederate soldiers who had died in the city as prisoners of war. In 1900, a section for Confederate dead was set aside at Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>34</sup>

Within the South, citizens did not share a similar sentiment in admiration for their former foes. As the North stressed sacrifice, the South could not justify the deaths of its soldiers as a symbol to reunifying the nation, nor did Southern commemoration of the war, often referred to as, “the Lost Cause,” become a rallying point for a renewal in Southern independence.<sup>35</sup> Brown confesses that Southern memory of the war is quite complicated. However, Brown identifies the basic ideal that defines it. Citing a quote from Thomas Connelly and Barbara Bellows from their work, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind*, “the Lost Cause was a realization of mortality existing in an America that reached for the gnostic immortality; it was an admission of failure juxtaposed against national faith in success and achievement.”<sup>36</sup>

Within this context, Southerners focused solely on the remembrance of their own. Brown uses a variety of examples to justify this claim. One of which pertains to the erection of monuments in Kentucky, totaling forty monuments to Confederate soldiers, and three to Union soldiers. Southerners were also held accountable for their defense of slavery. In retaliation, states’ rights became the justification of the war and in many ways elongated it as state governments in the South continued to challenge the power of the Federal Government in passing discriminatory laws well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 11.

The decline of Civil War monuments in the 1920s was the result in the innovation of new commemoration tools such highways named for famous generals and political leaders and the motion picture industry.<sup>38</sup> Through recent years, interest in Civil War commemoration has been focused upon subjects such as Lincoln, and the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts. Confederate memory has been increasingly represented by its association with the institution of slavery, leading to the acceleration of the removal of Confederate monuments and the change in names of Southern schools.<sup>39</sup>

Within the contexts of its phases, Brown's case studies theorize the architectural features of Civil War monuments and how they are related to the time periods in which they were erected. In his chapter, "The Citizen Soldier," the author identifies a key example of a tribute reflecting onto its patron. Proposed as a gesture of sectional reconciliation by former Confederate lieutenant Charles Strahan, the 1891 soldier's monument in Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, was given an inscription in 1925 that saluted Confederate soldiers under the sponsors fulfillment.<sup>40</sup> This instance not only represents the ideals of the patron who erected the monument, but also the phase in civil war commemoration that saw the continual push towards reunification in the North. Also, another theme that can be taken from this example is that the physical characteristics of a monument can come to represent those who erected it, as the inscription on the monument honoring Confederate soldiers came at the direct request of its patron.

In Thomas J. Brown's, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, monuments, through their physical features, reflect a phase in Civil War Commemoration, as well as the patron's ideals who had erected it. The *Ulysses S. Grant*

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 22.

*Memorial* and Thomas Crawford's, *Statue of Freedom*, are two related case studies that have been examined that are both examples within the context of the Civil War whose physical features were impacted by its patrons. Cher Krause Knight's, *Public Art: Theory, Practice, and Populism*, does not make any mention to the war's role in the legacy of public art. Brown, on the other hand, states that Civil War commemoration contributed to the peak of monuments and statues in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> Although Brown justifies the era's importance in public art, he places special emphasis on time periods, particularly the phases in Civil War commemoration, in understanding and interpreting public art.

Kirk Savage's, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, further examines the connection between Civil War commemoration, its patrons during that period, and its impact on public art. However, the majority of Savage's focus is the issue of representing slavery in public monuments after the war's end. In a chapter within *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* titled, "Political Compromise in Public Art: Thomas Crawford's *Statue of Freedom*," by Vivien Green Fryd, the impact of slavery in the United States and its effect on public art have already been examined in Thomas Crawford's, *Statue of Freedom*.<sup>42</sup> With slavery abolished after the civil war, artists and American citizens struggled in how to represent its role in American memory. Savage's primary objective in his work is, "to explore how the history of slavery and its violent end was told in public space, specifically in the sculptural monuments that increasingly came to dominate public space in 19<sup>th</sup> century America."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>42</sup> See page 2.

<sup>43</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth- Century America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3.

Savage credited the Civil War in creating, “the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country.”<sup>44</sup> Typically, the end of slavery, particularly emancipation, came to be represented by Abraham Lincoln, who became a martyr following his assassination. The end of a traumatic war, as well as the first presidential assassination in United States History propelled citizens to commemorate both Lincoln and the era he helped to define. While doing so, sculptors and commissioners of public art were forced to create a Lincoln as a historical founder for what the new United States had become.<sup>45</sup>

Individuals involved with shaping public monuments of Lincoln essentially had the opportunity to define race relations in the post-war United States. The earliest themes of emancipation existed as an act of racial uplift demonstrated by a white hero. Typically, this image illustrated a standing Lincoln along with a crouched or knelt slave positioned next to him.<sup>46</sup>

Like the phases of Civil War commemoration examined in Brown’s, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, Lincoln had his own as well. Starting with his association with emancipation, his image developed from, Lincoln the liberator of slaves, to Abraham Lincoln, the Savior of the Union.<sup>47</sup> In appropriation to the topic of public art, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White’s, *Standing Lincoln*, erected in 1887 in Lincoln Park, Chicago, created this transition. With no representations of emancipation or slavery, Lincoln’s internal character rather than his external accomplishments were to be admired.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

From Kirk Savage's, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, two ideas about public art and patronage can be included. One, patrons of public art have the ability to interpret the future through monuments of the past. For example, Lincoln's depiction as a white hero demonstrating racial uplift represented a sense of fatherhood to former slaves. To a certain degree, by displaying African-Americans kneeling to Lincoln, foreshadowed their treatment as second-class citizens in both North and South following the end of the war. Secondly, Public art can, in itself, cause a transition or change in American memory. Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White's, *Standing Lincoln*, with its absence of emancipation, opened a new interpretation of Lincoln not represented by his accomplishments, but by his personal character.

Through the examination of both Savage's and Brown's work, the period directly following the end of the Civil War is vital in the history of public art, especially monuments, sculptures, and statues. It is once again evident that public art possesses deeper meanings that require research of the patron's background, time period, and it's the art's physical features, as mentioned in Senie and Webster's work, *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content: Context, and Controversy*. Overall, it can be seen through Savage's work that public art is a flexible tool. Yes, it requires research in order to decipher its true meaning, however, public art in itself can control how certain events and figures are interpreted. Like the statues of Lincoln, public art is not just a commemoration of the past. In addition, it essentially is molded by patron's who wish to control the interpretation of the past to fit the mold of the future.

In Brown's, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, as well Savage's, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, speak to the tremendous ability patrons had after the war to define

history through public monuments. Of course, patrons were products of their time period as well, as relayed through Brown's interpretation of the various periods of Civil War commemoration. Appeasement of the South is one of these themes as Brown mentioned the 1891 soldier's monument in Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts was given an inscription in 1925 that saluted Confederate soldiers under the sponsors fulfillment.<sup>49</sup>

Two works that decipher the reasoning behind the North's appeasement of the South are David W. Blight's, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, and Nina Silber's, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*. Although the two are not directly about public art and patronage, they both provide historical context for the period that followed the war. As physical characteristics of public art are determined by the influence of the time period on its patrons, the ideological standpoints within that time period are worth examining. In his work, Blight heavily focuses on the political atmosphere that surrounded post-war society. With the increasing growth of the Democratic Party in both the South and North, politicians feared yet another conflict. Reconstruction, a policy heavily hated by the South and the Democratic Party as a whole, ultimately shaped the reunion of the country. Racial prejudices in the south went untouched in a means of preventing the reopening of wounds from the war.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, the monuments that reflected reunion between North and South possessed political implications.

Silber's work touches heavily on a theory of sectional reunion known as, 'the culture of reconciliation,' a movement that countered the social fractures of the Gilded Age with the promotion of feelings such as unity and healing. The increase of strikes, immigration, economic,

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<sup>49</sup> Brown, 22.

<sup>50</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 100.

and political corruption scared the social elite of Northern Society. In an effort to remind time back to the moral fabric of the country, individuals turned to the ideology of reunion. Feelings of fraternity, dignity, and family were placed above political and economic conflicts that kept America divided.<sup>51</sup>

In reviewing the sources that pertain to the role of patronage in the public art of the Civil War, a few key themes are obtained. One, public art was heavily shaped by the period of reunion between North and South, representing social and political implications of post-war society. The patrons of these monuments worked to establish a collective memory that remembered the Civil War as an event celebrated by the sacrifice of soldiers, rather than the new society created by emancipation and the abolishment of slavery.<sup>52</sup> As the Civil War ushered in the, “greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country,” the monuments after the war can be seen as setting precedents for the role of patrons in public art.<sup>53</sup>

The reasoning for the efforts of patrons to commemorate Abraham Lincoln in public art, such as the *Lincoln the Emancipator* statue has been studied by a number of scholars. Kirk Savage’s, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America* offered viewpoints on post-Civil War public art that specifically pertained to Abraham Lincoln. Like Savage stated, two important events defined his commemoration. One of which was Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, which came to represent a notion of racial uplift by a white hero.<sup>54</sup> The other event was his assassination in 1865, an event that made Lincoln a martyr to Northerners.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill & London, 1993), 96.

<sup>52</sup> Savage, 40.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

With these two events, public art of Lincoln took many forms, most of which were statues. Savage remarks that early depictions of Lincoln in public art depicted him as a symbol of emancipation. Although this was true, Augustus Saint-Gaudens redefined Lincoln in his sculpture titled *Standing Lincoln*. Saint-Gaudens depicted Lincoln without any visible symbols of emancipation, most of which had taken the form of a scroll in his hand. Without this representation, Lincoln's internal character rather than his external accomplishments were admired.<sup>56</sup> In the statue, Lincoln is depicted as confidently standing up before an audience. His clothes are creased to symbolize his humanity, and his calm and collected stance attests to his qualities that saved the Union.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, another theme of patronage and public art is discovered. It is well known by now that patrons have the power to define the figure they are commemorating. However, the patrons that erected Saint-Gaudens had the power to essentially redefine the public history of Lincoln that had already been defined with his association with emancipation.

In *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, Barry Schwartz, like Savage, credits the North's reaction to Lincoln's assassination with developing Lincoln as a sacred symbol to Northerners.<sup>58</sup> However, Barry goes into further explanation of Lincoln's commemoration after his death and how it unified the North. Although already bound together in the outrage behind Lincoln's assassination, Schwartz explains that Lincoln's funeral train created a union of its own, bounding people together as it passed from Washington D.C. to Lincoln's home in Springfield Illinois.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>57</sup> Savage, 122.

<sup>58</sup> Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 43.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 40.



After Lincoln's funeral had passed, Schwartz and Savage both conclude that Lincoln's image included his representation of emancipation and also his transition to symbolize his personal stature, like in Saint-Gaudens' *Standing Lincoln*. Schwartz takes the historical narrative of Lincoln one step further and expands it into other periods of history. Similar to the periods of commemoration of the Civil War, like the ones discussed in Thomas J. Brown's, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, Lincoln possessed his own. Two of these have been already discussed: Lincoln's association with emancipation, as well as the association with his own personal qualities.

According to Schwartz, the period between 1870 and 1910 was the most notable period in all of American History for erecting monuments in honor of mighty heroes, groups of unsung heroes, and great deeds.<sup>60</sup> Kirk Savage's, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, credited the Civil War in creating, "the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country."<sup>61</sup> Therefore it can be seen that Civil War monuments heavily influenced the erection of other monuments from 1870 to 1910. According to Schwartz, other factors that contributed to this era of monument building was the rapid of economic growth of cities. This prosperity brought wealth that supported commemorative groups in constructing monuments.<sup>62</sup> Lincoln was admired as a hero for saving the Union, however, wealthy Northern families that sent their sons off to die for the Union did not like Lincoln being portrayed as an emancipator. Although the efforts to portray Lincoln as a white hero were evident, families could not justify their white sons dying for the liberation of African

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<sup>60</sup> Schwartz, 90.

<sup>61</sup> Savage, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Schwartz, 91.

Americans.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, efforts to change the public art of Lincoln, as displayed in Saint-Gaudens' *Standing Lincoln*, were evident throughout the North.

Leading into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lincoln had remained a political symbol of the Republican Party since his presidency. However, with the dawn of Progressive Era, Lincoln had been molded into a symbol of progressive values. Different areas of Lincoln's life were molded into a narrative that fit various groups such as Republicans, socialists, suffragists, African-Americans, temperance advocates, and conservatives.<sup>64</sup> It is easily identified that Lincoln's image was constantly molded to fit that generations ideal. Schwartz remarked:

Between 1865 and 1922 men and women, engineering one of the most drastic, political, economic, and social transformation in American history, invoked Lincoln consciously to explicate what they had accomplished.<sup>65</sup>

In other words, Lincoln remained relevant due to the efforts of individuals who worked to alter his remembrance. Immigrants emphasized Lincoln's belief in the dignity of all people; socialists commemorated his views on labor, conservatives saw the major force of Lincoln's life to be his respect for the right to accumulate property, and African-Americans remembered their emancipation.<sup>66</sup>

It is discussed in Christopher A. Thomas' work, *The Lincoln Memorial & American Life*, that the alteration of Lincoln's remembrance allowed him to become a national symbol. As a national symbol, Lincoln was then fit to possess his own monument in Washington D.C. However, in order for Lincoln to attain a symbolic presence in the United States, the patrons that advocated for this notion had to portray Lincoln as a man with desirable qualities. Although Thomas' work tells the story of the *Lincoln Memorial*, it is important to note the motivations of

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 310.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 222.

its patrons as their work occurred around the time of the erection of the *Lincoln, The Emancipator* statue in Buffalo in 1902.

Like the previous two authors, Thomas agrees that Lincoln's fame rose after his assassination in 1865. Like Schwartz, Thomas credited the Republican Party in being the primary symbol of Lincoln as they were his most prominent supporters of the war and in his decision to emancipate slaves.<sup>67</sup> Lincoln did still appeal to some Democrats, as he favored immediate reunification with the South following the end of the war.<sup>68</sup> In regards to Southerners, a "New South" movement began to unfold in the 1880s. Supporters of this movement, which included future president Woodrow Wilson, addressed southerners to let go of the past and to integrate with the national economy and society.<sup>69</sup>

Although accepted by a broader range of citizens, Lincoln still remained the primary symbol of the Republican Party. The Election of 1896 was critical for the remembrance of Lincoln. For the first time in twenty years, the Republicans won control of the presidency and both houses of Congress. The Republican Party reached a new popularity through the nation's success under their administration. Military victories in Cuba and the Philippines, the annexation of Hawaii, and the opening of free trade with China created a sense of national unity and triumph.<sup>70</sup> With these factors, Lincoln's symbolic relationship with the Republican Party soared his reputation.

Through the support of the Republican Party, the Senate Park Commission, also called the McMillan Commission after the Republican Senator James McMillan, developed a proposal to honor Lincoln in a newly constructed memorial in line with the U.S. Capitol and the

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<sup>67</sup> Christopher A. Thomas, *The Lincoln Memorial & American Life*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 5.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas, 13.

Washington Monument.<sup>71</sup> During the Spanish-American war, citizens had asked the president to help them build a monument that would commemorate, “ the exceptionally happy condition of our people at this time, when to so marked a degree there is noticed the absence of all sectional feeling.”<sup>72</sup>

Senator James McMillan proposed the plans of the McMillian Commission to congress, in which it passed.<sup>73</sup> The project was entirely Republican. The commissioners consisted of notable artists and architects such as Frederick Law Olmsted, Daniel H. Burnham, Charles F. McKim, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, all of whom were upper-class Republicans.<sup>74</sup>

Although construction did not begin until 1914, it is important to note how much power the government had in defining national symbols. Based off of Thomas’ work, the Republican Party’s dominance in the early affairs of planning the *Lincoln Memorial* placed Lincoln on the national stage. Although he was seen as a national symbol before the monument’s completion, the monuments location in the nation’s capital as well as its close proximity to the Washington Monument provided a visible representation as a national symbol.

In examining the sources that are related to the role of patronage and Abraham, it is obvious that the public art of Lincoln was primarily the efforts of Republicans who wished to establish Lincoln as a national symbol. The artist Augustus Saint-Gaudens, a Republican and social elite, established Lincoln away from the theme of emancipation in his work *Lincoln the Man*. In doing so, Saint-Gaudens focused on Lincoln’s personal stature in an attempt to make him admirable and relatable to a broader audience. Furthermore, the Republican Party dominated the Federal Government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The party’s success

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

as well as their influence in Washington D.C. allowed for Lincoln to be commemorated in a memorial in the nation's capital. It is also important to note the bridge in periods that is formed by Schwartz's work, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, and Kirk Savage's *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*. Savage credited the Civil War with creating the greatest "the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country."<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, Schwartz credited the decade between 1870 and 1910 as the most notable period in all of American History for erecting monuments in honor of mighty heroes, groups of unsung heroes, and great deeds.<sup>76</sup> Therefore it is seen that the Civil War ushered in the age of monument building and heavily influenced the construction of other monuments from 1870 to 1910. Civil War soldiers and more prominent figures like Lincoln fall into this category. The common soldier, seen as being glorified Brown's work, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, can be seen as unsung heroes that were not praised until the period after the Civil War. Lincoln, is a mighty hero that performed the great deed of emancipation and preserving the Union.

Outside of the celebration of heroes, groups of unsung heroes, and great deeds, Daniel M. Bluestone provides yet another reason for patrons to support public art during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In his article, "Detroit's City Beautiful Movement and the Problem of Commerce," Bluestone credits the City Beautification Movement as a key influence for patrons to erect variations of public art. Supporters of the City Beautification Movement, which stemmed out of Chicago's 1893 World Exposition, believed that the beautification of urban places had the ability to create a sense of community and to initiate

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<sup>75</sup> Savage, 3.

<sup>76</sup> Schwartz, 90.

political and social reform.<sup>77</sup> This idea abides closely to the culture of reconciliation discussed in Nina Silber's, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* as both of these works attest to the efforts of individual citizens to improve the social fractures of American Society during the Gilded Age.

Through the Literature Review a number of ideas relating to Public Art and Patronage are conveyed. One such is the indication of the greatest period of monument building in American History and the events that influenced it. Schwartz confirmed that the period between 1870 and 1910 was the most notable period in all of American History for erecting monuments.<sup>78</sup> This statement is supported and built upon by Savage's statement who credited the Civil War in creating, "the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this county."<sup>79</sup> Other events that are discussed in this literature review that fall under this time period are the Gilded Age and the Culture of Reconciliation, as well as the City Beautification Movement. With the greatest period of monument building in American History and all of its key events identified, it is reasonable to believe that examining public art in Buffalo during this time period is essential to understanding the role of patronage in these pieces of public art.

Outside of identifying a key time period, the literature review also relates some important observations to examine when researching the relationship between public art and patronage. Senie and Webster depicted public art as being a reflection of its patron. As patrons can exist as individuals, a local community, or a governmental body, it is through them that the true motivations of public art can be seen. In order to do so, research of the patron's background, the time period, and the outcome of the artwork's physical features is required. All of these factors

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<sup>77</sup> Daniel M. Bluestone, "Detroit's City Beautiful Movement and the Problem of Commerce," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 3 (1988): 245.

<sup>78</sup> Schwartz, 90.

<sup>79</sup> Savage, 3.

set the format for each of the case studies examined in this work, as the primary patrons, time period, physical features, as well as the historical background of each monument is researched and analyzed into what its patrons meant for the monument to symbolize. Once again relating back to Savage's statement, the Civil War ushered in, "the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country."<sup>80</sup> Therefore, it is only fitting that the first piece of public art to be examined is one that directly emerged from the aftermath of the Civil War.

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<sup>80</sup> Schwartz, 90.

## Chapter 3

### Public Art in Buffalo, New York

#### The Soldiers and Sailors Monument

##### Introduction

Described as Buffalo's oldest and most known monument by the *Buffalo Courier Express* in 1946, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument, located in Buffalo, New York's Lafayette Square, is a significant example of the art of Civil War commemoration (Figure 1). As one of the earliest monuments, it is an important case study in identifying the role of patronage in its installment. The monument, designed by sculptor Casper Buberl and architect George Keller, had its first cornerstone laid by the citizens of Buffalo in 1882.<sup>81</sup>

The Soldiers and Sailors Monument, constructed out of Hallowell granite and of neoclassical design, features four eight-foot statues that are symbolic of the artillery, infantry cavalry, and the navy. The figures are sculpted into a resting position and surround the shaft known as a victory column. It is decorated with bronze symbols of the nation and state. Bronze reliefs of over thirty figures surround the middle of the column while the top features a ten-foot six-inch stone lady symbolic of Buffalo. Half of the Gettysburg Address appears on the back of the monument. The message engraved in the front of the monument is dedicated to those who

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<sup>81</sup> Reyner Bahham, Charles Beveridge and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Buffalo Architecture: AA Guide*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 88.



laid down their lives, “in the war to maintain the union for the cause of their country and of mankind.”

The Ladies Union Monument Association, formed to establish a monument to the city of Buffalo’s fallen soldiers, were the primary patrons of this monument. At the time of the monument’s unveiling in 1884, the officers of the association were President, Maria M. Love; Vice President, Mrs. F.F. Fargo; Secretary, Mrs. George D. Emerson; and, Treasurer, Mrs. A. Altman.<sup>82</sup> The group chose Buberl’s and Keller’s design, creating a relationship between its features and the values of the association. Under this conception, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument represents more than just a mere monument. Its design and function are symbolic of both the association’s and governmental body’s testament to how the Civil War was to be commemorated.

The Civil War has withstood the test of time in living within the hearts of American citizens. Through its remembrance, society has produced a large quantity of speeches, poems, reenactments, motion pictures, and lastly, monuments. Monuments erected in memory of the Civil War helped to bring the form of public art into new heights as monuments prospered from the war’s end in 1865 to the form’s decline in the 1920s.<sup>83</sup> Scholar’s like Kirk Savage, author of *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, credited the war with creating “the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> “The Monument: A Full History of the Buffalo Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument- A Noble Work Achieved.” *Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, NY), Author Unknown.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas J. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004), 5.

<sup>84</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth- Century America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3.

In the years that followed the end of the war, American's struggled to grasp the harsh realities that the war had left. The horrific death toll, along with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln troubled the minds of Southerners and Northerners as they yearned to pay homage to those who sacrificed their lives. Monuments offered one mode of addressing this desire but it was not an easy task. As described by Thomas J. Brown, author of, *The Public Art Of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, the construction of monuments is a, "political process that routinely requires sponsors to obtain public space, agree on a design and raise funds."<sup>85</sup> With these factors, individuals tied to social and political affiliations had more success in this process, as fundraising an immense amount of funds to construct the monument was no easy task. To further decipher the reasons behind the monument's design and location, the historical background of Buffalo during and after the Civil War requires examination.

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<sup>85</sup> Thomas J. Brown, 5.



Figure 1: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

## Buffalo and the American Civil War

Buffalo's contribution to the Union war effort left a significant impact on its citizens. A number of prominent citizens served during the war and are remembered through statues and parkways. General Daniel Bidwell, a longtime citizen of Buffalo, was killed during the Battle of Cedar Creek, in 1864. Another local, Colonel Edward P. Chapin, Colonel of the 116<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry, was also killed, this time at the Battle of Port Hudson in 1863.<sup>86</sup> In order to honor the soldiers, the city of Buffalo named Chapin Parkway after Colonel Chapin and designated another street as Bidwell Parkway; a statue was also erected of Bidwell in 1924.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Richard C. Brown, *Erie County and the Civil War* (Buffalo: Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, 1971), 2-3.

<sup>87</sup> "Do You Know Buffalo's Statues?" *Buffalo Courier Express* (Buffalo, NY), August 9, 1959, 12.

Outside of the thousands of soldiers that answered the call to fight for the Union, Buffalo's factories, forges, and farms contributed immensely to the war effort. Tanneries produced leather, while other specialized manufacturers produced assorted iron products. Shipyards once purposed to construct commercial fleets were contracted to build several tugs for the Union Navy.<sup>88</sup> Women of Erie County also contributed to the war effort as they sewed over 30,060 shirts for soldiers; knitted 9,380 pairs of socks, collected 86,465 hospital supply items, and produced 5,588 pounds of bandages.<sup>89</sup>

The efforts of women during the war set a precedent for the future of monument building in Buffalo. The organization of women in Buffalo during the war led to the creation of the Ladies' General Aid Society, a branch of the United States Sanitary Commission which provided supplementary services to soldiers. Other organizations in the area, like the Ladies' Christian Commission, held a Grand Central Fair on Washington's Birthday in 1864, collecting over \$25,607.<sup>90</sup> Their success in orchestrating funds for the war effort, women continued to organize well after the Union's victory. Starting in the 1870s, women involved in civic organizations shifted their attention to the public art of commemoration, the *Soldiers and Sailors Monument* being one of them.

### **Post-War Society in Buffalo**

In the period following the Civil War, Buffalo's growth as city coincided with Northern efforts to reunify the country. Industries thrived due to the city's location on the Great Lakes, railway lines, and the Erie Canal. The construction of new buildings was an outcome of Buffalo's growth as the City and County Hall was dedicated on the nation's centennial on July 4,

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<sup>88</sup> Richard C. Brown, 13.

<sup>89</sup> Richard C. Brown, 16.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.,

1876.<sup>91</sup> At the event, former Buffalo Mayor and politician George W. Clinton delivered an address known as, “The Spirit of 1876.” In addressing the Civil War, Clinton outlined an important Northern standpoint in regards to their relationship with the South. “

When peace returned, I was among the first to say, to a portion of the public, that our duty and the common interest demanded that we should take ample security for the future and grant full amnesty to all those who participated in the rebellion.<sup>92</sup>

Clinton’s stance in forgiving the South is an example of the reunification efforts initiated by Northerners after the Civil War. Therefore, monuments reserved to commemorate the war had to possess features that did not represent the sectional division. Reunification was present before war’s end as Abraham Lincoln’s hoped the, “the mythic chords of memory,” would bind North and South back together.<sup>93</sup> In other words, Lincoln hoped the sacrifices and experiences of soldiers could work together to socially and politically reunify North and South. With death being the ultimate sacrifice, many, including Lincoln, associated the death of soldiers to the death of the nation. With the war’s end, Lincoln and others forged narratives between death and rebirth of the United States.<sup>94</sup> Lincoln’s iconic speech, “The Gettysburg Address,” is an early example of this comparison as Lincoln connects to the sacrifices of soldiers to a “new birth of freedom.”<sup>95</sup>

### **Sacrifice and the Common Soldier**

The sentiment of the rebirth of freedom and the reunion of the nation through the sacrifices of soldiers was more persistent in the North than South. As for the former Confederacy, its citizens could not justify the sacrifices of its soldiers for a cause that was lost.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Olga Lindberg, *Buffalo in the Gilded Age*, (Buffalo: Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, 1977), 3.

<sup>92</sup> Frederick Saunders, *Addresses Historical and Patriotic Centennial*, (New York: E. B. Treat, 1893), 436.

<sup>93</sup> Thomas J. Brown, 7.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>95</sup> Abraham Lincoln, “The Gettysburg Address,” in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Ed. Roy P. Basler, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Publishing, 1955), 234-238.

<sup>96</sup> Thomas J. Brown, 10.

Nonetheless, sacrifice became a universal language that spoke to not only that of soldiers, but citizens as well. Sacrifices were made by all aspects of society as communities like Buffalo and others throughout the nation had participated in the war by paying increased taxes, aiding the wounded, and sending supplies to the front. Therefore, sacrifices were made by all aspects of society, creating a relatable theme for all measures of society.<sup>97</sup>

American society found compromise in the commemoration of heroic qualities that embodied soldiers on both sides. One such quality was the devotion of duty, as it possessed a flexible language that was both simple and neutral to the affiliations of any man. The common soldier, depicted on a number of Civil War monuments, became the symbolic figure of sacrifice and duty. As North and South both associated their soldiers with sacrifice and duty, it is no coincidence that both Union and Confederate monuments that depicted soldiers, remained strikingly similar in appearance.<sup>98</sup> The most common image depicted was that of the common soldier uniformed and holding the barrel of his rifle that rests upright on the ground in front of him.<sup>99</sup>

It is stated in Peggy's McDowell's article, "Martin Millmore's Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the Boston Common: Formulating Conventionalism in Design and Symbolism," that the Buffalo Soldiers and Sailors Monument is similar to that of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Boston (Figure 2 ).<sup>100</sup> The neoclassical monument, located in Boston Common features a soldier and sailor at rest positions that are very similar in appearance to that of the figures of Buffalo's monument. The Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Boston also features four

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<sup>97</sup> Savage, 178.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>99</sup> Thomas Brown, 24.

<sup>100</sup> Peggy McDowell, "Martin Millmore's Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the Boston Common: Formulating Conventionalism in Design and Symbolism," *The Journal of American Culture* 1, no. 11 (1988): 83.

eight-foot figures as a representation of the reunification of the nation as they represent the northern, southern, eastern, and the western sections of the United States. Therefore, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Boston not only is an exemplification of the sacrifice of the common soldier, but reunification efforts between North and South as well.

Further revelations exist when examining civil war monuments on a national scale. As it has been stated, Union and Confederate monuments remained similar in appearance due to the heroic qualities of sacrifice and duty depicted in the common soldier. A recent article by Marc Fisher for the *Washington Post* titled, “Why those Confederate soldier statues look a lot like their Union Counterparts,” examines two statues of common soldiers at the rest position, one is in Westfield, New Jersey, the other is in Windsor, North Carolina (Figures 3 and 4). The two soldiers are identical in appearance with only one dignifying feature. This difference is in the engraving of the belt buckle, as the “U.S.” is replaced by a “C.S.” for “Confederate States,” in the North Carolina model. The similarity pertains to the company behind the two statues, the Monumental Bronze Company in Bridgeport Connecticut, who charged \$450 per statue.<sup>101</sup> Shared ideals between North and South permitted the company to sell the design to both sides. The Soldiers and Sailors monument in Buffalo relates to this situation as well as its sculptor, Casper Buberl, constructed both Union and Confederate monuments. Aside from the countless Union monuments, he sculpted the Alexandria Confederate Memorial in Alexandria Virginia (1889), the A.P. Hill Monument in Richmond Virginia (1892), and the Confederate Monument at the University of Virginia Cemetery (1893). Aside from the A.P. Hill Monument, both the

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<sup>101</sup> Marc Fisher, “Why those Confederate soldiers statues look a lot like their Union Counterparts,” *The Washington Post*, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/why-those-confederate-soldier-statues-look-a-lot-like-their-union-counterparts/2017/08/18/cefcc1bc-8394-11e7-ab27-1a21a8e006ab\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.39d47e9f22e2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/why-those-confederate-soldier-statues-look-a-lot-like-their-union-counterparts/2017/08/18/cefcc1bc-8394-11e7-ab27-1a21a8e006ab_story.html?utm_term=.39d47e9f22e2) (Accessed April 12, 2018).

Confederate Monument at the University of Virginia Cemetery and the Alexandria Confederate Memorial both depict the common soldier.



*Figure 2: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1877), Boston, Massachusetts, by Martin Millmore. Taken from [www.fineartamerica.com](http://www.fineartamerica.com).*



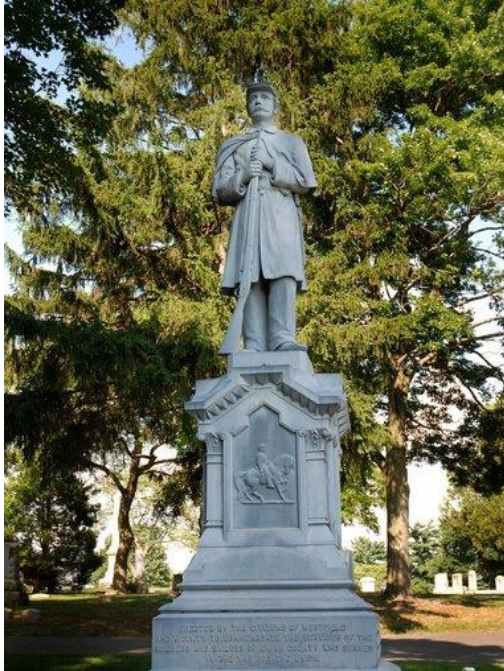


Figure 3: Civil War Monument (1889), Westfield, New Jersey. It was produced by the Monumental Bronze Company in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Taken from [www.nj.com](http://www.nj.com).

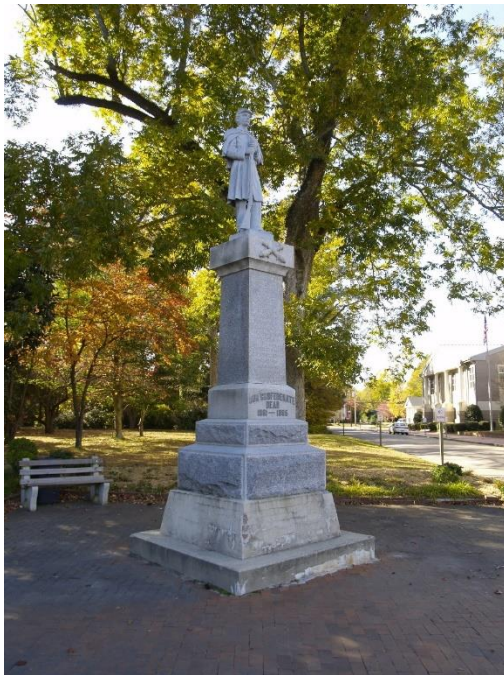


Figure 4: Bertie County Confederate Soldiers Monument (1896), Windsor, North Carolina. Also produced by the Monumental Bronze Company, its features are directly identical to that of the statue in Westfield, New Jersey. The outfit, stance, and uniform are in unison. Taken from [www.legion.org](http://www.legion.org).

## Reunification Efforts by the North

The shared qualities of the Union and Confederate, evident by the similarities in monumental design, made it an easy task for the North to support efforts to reunify the country. These reunification efforts escalated as the Reconstruction Era ended and the celebration of the Revolutionary centennial approached in 1875. General Francis Bartlett's speech at the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1875 received appraisal by its audience as he declared, "as an American, I am so proud of the men who charged so bravely with Pickett's Division on our lines at Gettysburg, as I am of the men who so bravely met and repulsed them."<sup>102</sup> Bartlett's statement and George W. Clinton's, "The Spirit of 1876," are strikingly similar in their remission of Southern soldiers as both work to affiliate North and South as one country. Aside from the common theme of sacrifice, other reasons existed behind the North's efforts to reunite the country.

Over time, scholars have discussed the reasoning behind the North's embrace of their former enemy. Brown's work, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, highlights the concepts of the culture of reconciliation as a reason to the North's efforts to reunify the country.<sup>103</sup> The concept of the culture of reconciliation comes from Nina Silber's, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*. She describes the term as a reaction to the troubling social fractures of the Gilded Age. The increase of strikes, immigration, and economic and political corruption all contributed to sense of moral disintegration in Northern society. As a means of forgiveness, as well as to promote a culture of unity and healing, the social elite turned to the ideology of reunion to rehabilitate the country's

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 10.

moral compass. Feelings of fraternity, dignity, and family overshadowed political and economic conflicts that kept America divided.<sup>104</sup>

Women took a significant role in forming charitable organizations in order to combat the perceived social fractures and to fulfill the moral obligations of a united society. In Buffalo, the women of Buffalo's churches formed the Union Missionary Sunday School Aid Society to sew and provide clothing for children. The organization later purchased a house to provide meals and living quarters for young women.<sup>105</sup> In 1870, the society became the Women's Christian Association which continued to offer volunteer services to Buffalo's poor. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, membership had grown to over 4,000 women.<sup>106</sup>

Maria M. Love, the future president of the Ladies Union Monument Association at the time of the monument's dedication in 1884, demonstrated a commitment to resolving social issues. For over fifty years, Love dedicated her life to the well-being of Buffalo's citizens. Love came from an elite Buffalo family and was a believer in the, "Social Gospel," a protestant movement that dedicated itself to solving urban problems such as poverty.<sup>107</sup> She founded a day nursery on Swan Street for the children of working families and established a training school that taught young woman how to properly care for their children.<sup>108</sup>

Love's connection to the Civil War came through her brother, George Maltby Love, a decorated war captain. He took over the command of 116<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry after the death of Colonel Edward Chapin, and later captured the battle flag of the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina. His actions earned him the Medal of Honor and the rank of Brigadier General in 1865.<sup>109</sup> Maria Loves'

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<sup>104</sup> Silber, 96.

<sup>105</sup> Lindberg, 10.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>107</sup> Karen Berner Little, *Maria M. Love: The Life and Legacy of a Social Work Pioneer* (Cheektowaga: Western New York Heritage Press, 1994), 38.

<sup>108</sup> "Maria M. Love, Civic Social Leader, Dies, 91," *Buffalo Courier-Express* (Buffalo, NY), July 20, 1931, 1.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 18.

father, Thomas Cutting Love, was a staunch abolitionist and lawyer in Buffalo. He served as a member of the United States House of Representatives from 1832 to 1835 and had maintained a friendship with Millard Fillmore.<sup>110</sup> It is unknown to what extent Maria Love advocated for abolition, however her patriotism for Buffalo's soldiers stood unprecedented. Her family's elite status in the city, as well as her involvement in Buffalo's civic affairs made her a key contributor to the Ladies Union Monument Association.

Mary Seymour, the first president of the Ladies Monument Association, had ties to the government in her husband, Horatio Seymour, making her yet another valuable piece to the association. Seymour, a Democrat and former governor of New York, stood as the Democratic Opponent to Ulysses S. Grant in the 1868 Presidential Election. Seymour had openly supported the draft rioters in 1863, an event that led to the deaths of a number of African Americans. He was also highly critical of Lincoln, and later opposed Congressional Reconstruction in favor of an immediate reunion between North and South.<sup>111</sup> In speaking out against the Republican dominated congress in 1868, Seymour stated, "Congress has done much to destroy the Union, to break down the fabric of our Government, and to efface the maxims and principles of our people, than was ever aimed at by rebellion."<sup>112</sup> In the following years, a substantial amount of northerner politicians strode away from sectionalist sentiments.<sup>113</sup> Buffalo's own Grover Cleveland, then president, called for a return of captured Confederate Battle Flags in 1887.<sup>114</sup>

As seen by the efforts of charitable organizations and politicians, as well as the implication of reunion, as demonstrated by George W. Clinton's, "Spirit of 1876," reunification

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>111</sup> Blight, 100.

<sup>112</sup> Horatio Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden, *Speeches of Ex-Gov. Horatio Seymour & Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, before the Democratic state convention at Albany, March 11, 1868*, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1868), 1.

<sup>113</sup> Silber, 96.

<sup>114</sup> Thomas J. Brown, 9.

efforts between North and South existed within the affairs of Buffalo, New York. The Ladies Union Monument Association determined the features of the *Soldiers and Sailor's Monument* based off of the notion of reunion as they chose sculptor Casper Buberl's and architect George Keller's design. It was not a short process as efforts to construct the monument spawned over the course of a decade.

### **Civil War Monument Efforts in Buffalo, New York**

Attempts to raise money for a monument dedicated to Civil War remembrance began just two years after the end of the war. In July, 1867, members of Soldier's Monument Association appointed Millard Fillmore, former president and one of Buffalo's most prominent citizen's, as president of the Soldier's Monument Association of Erie County. The association was formed:

To take measures to ensure the erection of a suitable monument to the heroic dead of Erie County who have fallen in the recent war against rebellion, and to cooperate with the public authorities and other organizations or individuals to consummate this work."<sup>115</sup>

Outside of Fillmore's placement as president of the association, the vice-presidents formed a government- like structure that included representatives from each town in the county.<sup>116</sup> Under the guidance of Fillmore and other representatives, the association's influence had the potential to accumulate a sufficient amount of funding. Not much is known about how the project became derailed. Ten years later, another association in Buffalo embarked on the mission to erect a monument, this time led by women.

In 1874, the Ladies Union Monument Association, like the previous Soldier's monument Association, was incorporated to originate a memorial to both soldiers and sailors who died

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<sup>115</sup> Frank H. Severance, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society: Millard Fillmore Papers, (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1907), xxxiv.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

fighting for the Union.<sup>117</sup> The first meeting held on July 2, 1874 in the committee room of the Young Men's Association, concluded with the election of Mary Seymour as president of the association, and Maria M. Love as secretary. The society originally called itself, "The Ladies Association for the Election of a Soldier's Monument in Niagara Square," due to the ladies' wish to have the monument in Niagara Square. Judge James M. Smith of Buffalo suggested that the society should become an incorporate body in order to accept gifts and donations, therefore the group selected the title of, "The Ladies' Union Monument Association," that same year.<sup>118</sup> An all-male monument commission was also chosen by the city to oversee fundraising efforts and design considerations.<sup>119</sup>

In 1874, the Ladies Union Monument Association were able to secure the architect H.H. Richardson for the monument through the connections of Mrs. A.P. Nichols, an officer of the association, and William Dorsheimer, an honorary member and politician. Both Dorsheimer and Nichols had their houses designed by Richardson, and they supported his design of arch located in Niagara Square. Frederick Law Olmsted advocated for the memorial, as he wished to include it in his redesign of Niagara Square.<sup>120</sup> The commission approved of Richardson's design, which featured a large monumental stone arch to honor Civil War Veterans. Around the arch read, "In Memory Of Those Citizens of Buffalo Who Died To Save The Federal Union This Arch Was Built."<sup>121</sup> Figure five displays the proposed monument that was to be located in Niagara Square.

The association held a number of fundraising events. A social event and patriotic concert in St. James Hall on July 4, 1875 featured the performances of three dramas, "Loves Sacrifice,"

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<sup>117</sup> Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H.H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works*, (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1982), 54.

<sup>118</sup> "The Monument: A Full History of the Buffalo Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument- A Noble Work Achieved."

<sup>119</sup> Albion Ende, "The Soldiers and Sailors of Lafayette Square," *Buffalo News Sunday Magazine*, May 2, 1982, 10.

<sup>120</sup> Ochsner, 54.

<sup>121</sup> Chuck LaChiusa, "H.H. Richardson's Proposed Design for a Civil War Memorial in Buffalo, NY," *History of Buffalo*, <http://buffaloah.com/a/archs/rich/arch/arch.html> (Accessed March 28, 2018).

“Still Water Runs Deep, and “Richelieu.”<sup>122</sup> Newspapers called the two-day fundraising event, “the most brilliant social affair known to Buffalo at the time.”<sup>123</sup> Other Ladies’ Union Monument Association fundraisers included an exhibit of two paintings by the artist James Walker, one of the Battle of Gettysburg, another that of Lookout Mountain. Arrangements were made to showcase the artwork in order to benefit the association.<sup>124</sup>

Groundbreaking was held for the monument on July 4, 1876. However, Richardson’s design was estimated to cost over \$50,000. Because the ladies of the association had only raised \$7,500, construction was therefore halted.<sup>125</sup> William Dorsheimer, a Democrat, an opponent of reconstruction, and Lieutenant Governor of New York from 1875 to 1879, changed his mind in regards to his support of a monument in Buffalo as he remarked that honoring men who fought in a war that had divided the country wasn’t such a good idea.<sup>126</sup> In order to continue to raise funds, the association was forced to take Dorshiemer’s feedback into account, as their design had to exempt any representations of sectional division. During this period, the association also suffered through criticism from the local press. The scrutiny came through a newspaper headline in a popular Buffalo newspaper that read, “Sacred to the Memory of the Monument Commission,” which featured an obituary- like narrative for the association.<sup>127</sup> With pressure from both the government and the local press, the association became motivated to construct a monument that reflected that of their own and the general public.

Shortly after the incident, the president of the association, Mary Seymour passed away, leaving the executive chair to Maria M. Love. The leaders of the association appealed to the

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<sup>122</sup> Ende, 10.

<sup>123</sup> Little, 135.

<sup>124</sup> “A Grand Battle Picture,” *Buffalo Courier* (Buffalo, NY), November 11, 1876.

<sup>125</sup> Ochsner, 54.

<sup>126</sup> Ende, 10.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 10.

Buffalo Common Council who agreed to step in and donated over \$15,000.<sup>128</sup> However, the city wanted the association to erect a fountain instead. Maria Love, described as the association ‘s “most energetic and resourceful member,” rejected the idea and plans for a soldier’s monument proceeded.<sup>129</sup> The funds provided for the council provided enough revenue for another design to be chosen. The officers of the organization, President, Maria M. Love, Vice President, Mrs. F.F. Fargo, Secretary, Mrs. George D. Emerson, and, treasurer, Mrs. A. Altman agreed on sculptor Casper Buberl’s and architect George Keller’s design.<sup>130</sup>

As for the monument’s new location, the association chose Lafayette Square. The area was named after the Marquis de Lafayette, who had visited the area in 1825.<sup>131</sup> Since its creation, the square hosted a number of important events in the city’s history. It was the site of Buffalo’s first court-house in 1813, a political riot during the Andrew Jackson- John Quincy Adams campaign in 1828, a speech by Henry Clay in 1842, the Free-Soil Party’s convention in 1848, and an address by Lincoln in 1861.<sup>132</sup> These factors gave Lafayette Square a sense of historic and political importance to the city of Buffalo. Therefore, a monument erected in its premises had to retain the same themes.

The laying of the cornerstone of the monument at Lafayette Square took place during the city’s semi-centennial celebration on July 4, 1882. A grand procession preluded the ceremony as hundreds of veterans, many of whom were members of veteran’s associations like the Grand Army of the Republic, marched a long three mile stretch from Delaware Avenue, to Court Street, and then finishing at Main Street.<sup>133</sup> A number of city officials were present including member of

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<sup>128</sup> “The Monument: A Full History of the Buffalo Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument- A Noble Work Achieved.”

<sup>129</sup> Ende, 10.

<sup>130</sup> “The Monument: A Full History of the Buffalo Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument- A Noble Work Achieved.”

<sup>131</sup> Austin M. Fox, *Designated Landmarks of the Niagara Frontier: Including Buffalo, Niagara Falls, and Nearby Canada*, (Buffalo: Meyer Enterprises, 1986), 75.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>133</sup> *1832-1882: Semi- Centennial Celebration of the City of Buffalo*, (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1882), 49.



the Common Council, General Committee, Mayor of Buffalo Grover Cleveland, Judge Smith, and as an honored guest, General Stewart L. Woodford, the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York.<sup>134</sup> Woodford's address attested little to the North's achievements from the war. Instead, Woodford remarked, "On this birthday of the nation, so filled with holy memories of heroic deeds, so rich in glorious heritage, we are gathered here to erect a lasting memorial to those who in life and death upheld the glory of their country and the honor of ancestors."<sup>135</sup>

Woodford's address glorified the sacrifices of soldiers and the preservation of the Union over the abolition of slavery. As previously discussed, the idea of sacrifice existed as a unifying quality between soldiers.<sup>136</sup> The cornerstone laying ceremony concluded with masonic ceremonies performed by Grand Master M.W. Benjamin Flagler, who once again attested to the sacrifice of soldiers.

This monument, while it will inanimate, will not be mute, for it will tell the generations to come of the men who in their death took with them immortal glory and the gratitude of a great nation.<sup>137</sup>

Two years later, the unveiling ceremony of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument contained a similar structure to that of the previous ceremony. The New York Department of the Grand Army of the Republic held its semi-annual encampment at Buffalo in tandem with the monument's dedication on July 4, 1884. Once again, large coalition of veteran associations paraded through the streets. Other organizations such as various police and fire departments took part, as Brigadier General William F. Rodgers, former colonel of Buffalo's own 21<sup>st</sup> New York Infantry, led the procession. In attendance was then Governor of New York, Grover Cleveland,

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> See note 13.

<sup>137</sup> *1832-1882: Semi-Centennial Celebration of the City of Buffalo*, 53.

Pennsylvania Governor John Hartanft, a Medal of Honor Recipient, and R.B. Beath, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic.<sup>138</sup>

### **The Physical Features of the *Soldiers and Sailors Monument***

Sculptor Casper Buberl and architect George Keller's design, chosen by the Ladies Union Monument Association, was selected for reasons that pertained to the sectional reunion between North and South. Eight-foot statues (Figures 5 & 6) representing the infantry cavalry, and the navy surround the shaft which is decorated with bronze symbols of the nation and state. Bronze reliefs of over thirty figures surround the middle of the column while the top features a stone lady symbolic of Buffalo (Figure 7). Half of the Gettysburg Address appears on the back of the monument. The message engraved in the front of the monument is dedicated to those who laid down their lives, "in the war to maintain the union for the cause of their country and of mankind."

Arguably, the most enticing feature of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument is the detailed bronze relief of Lincoln famously calling for the 75,000 volunteers in 1861 (Figure 8). The relief departs from typical forms of Lincoln that were depicted after the Civil War. Lincoln, himself a martyr from the war, became associated with the theme of emancipation as a means of closing his historical achievement.<sup>139</sup> Throughout the 1860s and '70s, the majority of Lincoln sculptures depicted emancipation in the forms of Lincoln holding a pen or scroll in his hand. In order to avoid political tension, this image did not speak to the status of African-Americans or on the future of race-relations in the United States.<sup>140</sup> Although the symbolism between Lincoln and emancipation is present, there is no indication on what emancipation accomplished.

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<sup>138</sup> Benjamin R. Maryniak, "The Soldiers & Sailors Monument in Lafayette Square Buffalo, New York, *Buffalo as an Architectural Museum*, <http://www.buffaloah.com/a/lafsq/> (Accessed March 28, 2018).

<sup>139</sup> Savage, 65.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

Emancipation is not entirely absent from Buffalo's Soldiers and Sailors monument. As Lincoln's original cabinet is depicted in the mural, William Seward is in fact holding the Emancipation Proclamation (Figure 8).<sup>141</sup> By doing so, the monument further downplays the theme of emancipation as it diverges from a national symbol like Lincoln, to a symbol of the Republican Party. Therefore, emancipation is not being remembered as a national accomplishment but that of the Republic Party instead. Although it can be seen that the commemoration of a political party that was heavily attested by the South as a tool of disunion, the document in Seward's hand is almost recognizable. In fact, the sculptor, Casper Buberl, had to convey to the audience at the monument's dedication that the document in Seward's was the Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>142</sup> The emancipation of slaves was clearly an outcome of the Civil War. However, it is clearly not the theme of this monument, as its depiction is subtle.

Sacrifice, as it is seen as a key theme of Civil War commemoration and reunion, is present in the Soldiers and Sailors monument in its bronze relief, inscriptions, and in its depiction of the common soldier. In the bronze relief, soldiers are seen answering Lincoln's call, while a woman gives one last farewell to a soldier (Figure 9). Another image demonstrates Buffalo's economic contributions to the War effort, as two workmen are seen reading a newspaper next to an anvil (Figure 10). All these illustrations tie into the previously discussed notion of sacrifice, a relatable theme not only shared by all aspects of society, but that of North and South as well.<sup>143</sup> The eight-foot figures, representative of the navy, artillery, infantry, and cavalry are representative of the cherished citizen soldier that became admired by both sides. None of the figures are officers, whereas the common private commands the monument instead,

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<sup>141</sup> Maryniak, "The Soldiers & Sailors Monument in Lafayette Square Buffalo, New York."

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Savage, 178.

in which they are representative of the collective values of sacrifice and duty shared by both sides.<sup>144</sup>

As for the inscriptions on the monument, its dedication to those who sacrificed their lives, “in the war to maintain the union for the cause of their country and of mankind,” is again symbolic and typical in justifying the admirable qualities and sacrifice of the common soldier. The greater meaning of this inscription is that Buffalo identified the preservation of the Union as the overall achievement from the war. The political issues of equal rights and emancipation do not exist in word form on the monument but are not necessarily ignored. The second half of the Gettysburg Address is engraved on the backside of the monument:

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under god, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Out of all texts that appeared on Union monuments, the Gettysburg Address appeared the most, and came to represent a justification for deaths in the war.<sup>145</sup> The, “new birth of freedom,” that Lincoln spoke of required the nation to rethink the meaning of liberty. According to Savage’s work, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth- Century America*, “public monuments were meant to yield resolution and consensus, not to prolong conflict.”<sup>146</sup> The abolition of slavery only intensified racial relations as African-Americans were intertwined into American society. Racist thought, both in Southern and Northern society, was

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Thomas J. Brown, 37.

<sup>146</sup> Savage, 5.

fat too entrenched to immediately change after the war. Therefore, the resolution of the, “new birth of freedom,” pertained to the heroic white soldier who had defended his nation.<sup>147</sup> Prior to the Civil War, monuments traditionally had been a symbol of rulership. However, due to its prominent characteristics and popularity, the common soldier, as well as the society that also sacrificed for the war effort, had the freedom to form what was perceived to be the general testimonial of the people.<sup>148</sup> The, “new birth of freedom,” can be interpreted as the ability of the American people to create a collective memory of past events.



*Figure 5: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Three out of the four eight-foot figures are seen representing the cavalry, navy, and artillery. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

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<sup>147</sup> Savage, 210.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 5.



Figure 6: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Eight-foot figure representing the infantry. Notice the "soldier at rest position." Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).



Figure 7: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Neo-classical statue of a woman representative of the City of Buffalo. The figure is nameless however she does bare similarities to the Lady Justice Statue on the roof of County Hall in Buffalo. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).





Figure 8: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Relief depicting Lincoln's original cabinet. From left to right: Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of State William H. Seward, Attorney-General Edward Bates, Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair, Lincoln, Interior Secretary Caleb Smith, Navy Secretary Gideon Welles, Major General Winfield Scott, and War Secretary Simon Cameron. The document in Lincoln's right hand is his call for 75,000 volunteers. The document in Seward's left hand is the Emancipation Proclamation. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).



Figure 9: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. A soldier is seen in the middle of the relief giving a final farewell to a woman and child. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).



*Figure 10: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. The anvil and wheel are symbolic of Buffalo's industries, while the woman crying is that of sacrifice. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

## Discussion

The Ladies Union Monument Association, along with the patrons who provided funds for the monument, created the city of Buffalo's collective memory in how the war was to be commemorated. The association, led by Mary Seymour and Maria Love, were part of the social elite that ultimately spoke for the greater population of the city. Seymour's political connections through her husband, Horatio Seymour, were adamant on the immediate reunification of North and South. Love, on the hand, represented the return to morality in what was known as, "the culture of reconciliation." Other events, such as Buffalo's Fourth of July celebration in 1876, which featured George W. Clinton's speech, "Spirit of 1876," further justifies reunion sentiments. Lastly, the pressure from New York's Lieutenant Governor William Dorshiemer to construct a monument that did not honor the war's role in dividing the country influenced the monument's design. As it is present in the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Buffalo, the overall



theme of the common white soldier and the citizens who had sacrificed for the war effort created a relatable binding between the former foes.

Through these efforts of reconciliation in which the Soldiers and Sailors monument represented, the Ladies Union Monument Association contributed to the establishment of the common soldier as a unifying symbol between North and South. The common soldier, as well as the society that also sacrificed for the war effort, had the freedom to form what was perceived to be the general testimonial of the people.<sup>149</sup> The, “new birth of freedom,” can be interpreted as the ability of the American people to create a collective memory of past events. As seen by this case study, citizens that had the control to interpret this collective memory through public art had to possess the necessary funds and connections to do so. The Ladies Union Monument Association had both political and social connections which made the construction of their monument successful. Nonetheless, through their efforts, the Ladies Union Monument Association can be seen as the first monument builders in Buffalo that used their connections and wealth to interpret American History through public art.

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 5.

## *Lincoln the Emancipator*

### **Introduction**

In the previous chapter, a key theme was identified as an outcome of the remembrance of the Civil War. As stated, the emancipation of the enslaved people in the south required a new meaning behind the American ideal of liberty. In his famous Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's solution was a call for the "rebirth of freedom." However, in Savage's work, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, he states that racist thought was far too entrenched to immediately change after the war.<sup>150</sup> As the Civil War ushered in the greatest era of monument building, patrons of these monuments had the ability to form what they believed was the testimonial of the people.<sup>151</sup> The "new birth of freedom", when placed into the context of public art, is essentially the freedom of American citizens to create a collective memory of past events.

The Ladies Union Monument strove to create a narrative of Buffalo's role in the Civil War that favored sectional reconciliation between North and South. By doing so, the association created a Civil War monument that obtained this goal. In examining the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue in Buffalo, New York, another pivotal moment is created in regards to the relationship between patronage, public art, and the interpretation of American History. As Lincoln's "new birth of freedom" meant the freedom of American citizens to form a collective memory of past events, the patrons behind the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* built upon this idea. They took this freedom one step further and controlled who stood as national symbols within American History.

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<sup>150</sup> Savage, 5.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 210.

The patrons behind the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue as seen in Figure 11, had their own ideas in creating Abraham Lincoln as a national symbol. Located on the steps of the neoclassical Buffalo History Museum, Charles H. Niehaus sculpted the bronze statue that is a replica of the original piece located in Muskegon, Michigan. The replica was gifted to the City of Buffalo in 1902 from the Lincoln Birthday Association, founded by Julius E. Francis. Lincoln is depicted in a sitting position as he holds the emancipation proclamation in his hands. Although the statue's features may seem subtle, Lincoln had been depicted through public art in a variety of ways in the years following the Civil War. His popularity in public art that propelled him to one of the country's most beloved presidents.



Figure 11: *Lincoln, The Emancipator*, (1902), Buffalo, New York, by Charles H. Niehaus. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

### **Abraham Lincoln and Buffalo**

Abraham Lincoln's relationship with Buffalo began with his visitation to city on Saturday, February 16, 1861.<sup>152</sup> Buffalo was one of his many stops as he made his way to his

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<sup>152</sup> Richard C. Brown, 1.

inauguration in Washington D.C. That afternoon, Lincoln made a brief speech to a crowd assembled beneath the balcony of the American Hotel. With war on the horizon, Lincoln was instructed to speak about the problems plaguing the United States:

Your worthy mayor has thought fit to express the hope that I may be able to relieve the country from the present, or should I say, the threatened difficulties. I am sure I bring a heart true to the work. For the ability to perform it, I trust in that Supreme Being who has never forsaken this favored land, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people.<sup>153</sup>

After the fall of Fort Sumter on April 13, 1861, Lincoln's response to these "threatened difficulties" was to summon 75,000 troops to preserve the Union. As seen in the previous chapter, Buffalo had given much to the war effort in both troops and supplies. However, by 1863 Buffalo's support of the Lincoln administration began to falter.

By 1864, casualties from the war far amassed the original expectations in 1861. The extended war effort brought a high cost living in the North. The situation caused labor unrest throughout Northern cities including Buffalo. African-Americans were hired as strikebreakers, which only brought racial conflict to the city.<sup>154</sup> In regards to the Emancipation Proclamation, Buffalo retained mixed views on the matter. The *Buffalo Courier* deemed it as unconstitutional. The *Buffalo Express* supported it but expressed doubt in the racial relationship between whites and freed blacks.<sup>155</sup> Even Millard Fillmore, who had welcomed Lincoln to Buffalo during his inauguration, became a popular critic of the war. In February, 1864, Fillmore gave a brief speech to the audience at the Great Central Fair, an event sponsored by the Ladies Christian Commission for the benefit of the war's sick and wounded:

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<sup>153</sup> Frank Crosby, *Life of Abraham Lincoln: Sixteenth President of the United States*, (Philadelphia: John E. Potter, 1865), 75.

<sup>154</sup> Richard C. Brown, 17.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

Three years of civil war have desolated the fairest portion of our land, loaded the country with an enormous debt that the sweat of millions yet unborn must be taxed to pay; arrayed brother against brother against brother, father against son in mortal combat; deluged our country with fraternal blood, whitened our battlefields with the bones of the slain, and darkened the sky with the pall of mourning.<sup>156</sup>

Although the audience was shocked, Fillmore's speech did not meet deaf ears. By the 1864 presidential election, Erie County gave Lincoln 13,061 votes, while his opponent, the former general George B. McClellan, brought in 13,368.<sup>157</sup>

With Erie County essentially voting against Lincoln in the 1864 election, the question must be asked in how Lincoln's reputation in Buffalo may have changed from 1864, to the erection of the "Lincoln, The Emancipator," in 1902. There is also the issue of emancipation, in which Buffalo seemingly doubted at the time of its introduction.<sup>158</sup> Although Lincoln still won the Presidential Election of 1864, his fame accelerated after his assassination in 1865.

### **Lincoln's Funeral**

Lincoln's reelection as President in 1864 did not reflect his general approval by the North. Many believed that his victory reflected the dislike of the Democratic Party nominee George B. McClellan, rather than his own endorsement.<sup>159</sup> Widespread criticism of his policies remained. As Northern supporters of the war recalled his numerous defeats on the battlefield, opponents of the conflict argued that the war's costs exceeded its benefits and continued to blame Lincoln for destroying the country.<sup>160</sup> The *Buffalo Courier* further challenged Lincoln's leadership and potential to the finish the war in stating Lincoln's, "exhortation to finish a war the limits and nature of which are not even hinted at," summarized his entire presidency.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Robert J. Rayback, *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President*, (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1959), 427.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>158</sup> Richard C. Brown, 17.

<sup>159</sup> Schwartz, 43.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

As stated by David Donald, famous for his 1995 biography of Lincoln, “only in death did Lincoln win universal applause.”<sup>162</sup> On April 9, 1865, Robert E. Lee surrendered the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant, commander of the Union forces. Just days after the event, Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth on the night of April 14, 1865. In the days following his assassination, Northern citizens were outraged by the act. Crowds formed in public places throughout the country. Rallies led by Union Generals such as Benjamin Butler credited Lincoln with driving out the rebellion, while other speakers drew a comparison between Lincoln’s gentle and well-meaning qualities to that of the Confederacy’s vicious crime.<sup>163</sup>

Outside of politicians and generals, preachers, many of whom were radical Republicans and abolitionists, delivered sympathetic eulogies. In a eulogy delivered in Syracuse, New York, Lincoln’s meaningful qualities were clearly exemplified to the audience:

His moderation in success, his magnanimity, his justice, his profound desire for an honorable peace, his freedom from resentment and hate, his large charity, so abundantly manifested during the last few weeks, had silenced and disarmed his slanderers and revilers and upon all such gross and unjust accusations, death has now set the seal of forgetfulness forever.<sup>164</sup>

Other eulogies projected more religious messages, such as that delivered by Reverend Edward F. Cutter in Rockland, Maine, on April 19, 1865.

Lincoln was meek as Moses; his heart tender as a woman’s, he, “cherished hearts that hated him,” “carried in his right hand gentle peace;” and, in the conflict of parties and factions, his was the spirit that conciliated and bound together the people.<sup>165</sup>

With numerous testimonies to the qualities of Lincoln, Barry Schwartz, author of, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, credited the North’s reaction to Lincoln’s

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<sup>162</sup>Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Schwartz, 36.

<sup>164</sup> Charles B. Sedgwick, *An Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln, Sixteenth President of the United States*, (Syracuse: The Daily Journal Steam Book and Job Office, 1865), 14.

<sup>165</sup> Edward F. Cutter, *Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln: Delivered at Rockland Maine, April 19, 1865, by request of the citizens*, (Boston: D.C. Colesworthy, 1865), 15.

assassination in the development of Lincoln as a sacred symbol. Schwartz remarked, “Northerners, attached to Lincoln during the heart of the war, exaggerated his virtues in their intense reaction to his death.”<sup>166</sup> In Buffalo, sentiments of mourning were apparent as homeowners decorated their doors with black drapes. However, ex-president, Millard Fillmore, one of Buffalo’s most prominent citizens, received criticism for not displaying anything on his own door. Fillmore, who had previously criticized Lincoln and the war, had his door smeared with ink by a citizen who had passed by his house.<sup>167</sup> The high praise that the citizens of Buffalo held Lincoln in following his assassination became even more apparent in not one, but two funerals held for him in April of 1865.

As Lincoln’s funeral was held in Washington D.C., a number of staged funerals occurred throughout the country on April 19, 1865. Buffalo held such an event, which featured a funeral car that transported a symbolic casket of Lincoln. All businesses were closed and the streets were lined with spectators as the car was drawn by six white horses that moved throughout the city. Millard Fillmore acted as honorary chairman for the “Citizens Committee on Observance of the Day of Obsequie.”<sup>168</sup> Other members included Nelson K. Hopkins, I.A. Verplanck, J.C. Masten, F.P. Stevens, Henry Martin, Jas Sheldon, E.S. Prosser, P. Dorsheimer, S.S. Jewett, John Wilkeson, and S.H. Fish.<sup>169</sup>

Shortly after Lincoln’s funeral came to a conclusion in Washington D.C., members of the Republican Party planned a ceremonial journey that retraced Lincoln’s inauguration in 1861. A train carried Lincoln’s from the capitol, all the way to Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield,

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<sup>166</sup> Schwartz, 43.

<sup>167</sup> Rayback, 428.

<sup>168</sup> Benedict R. Maryniak, “One Funeral Makes Another,” *Buffalo Architecture*, <http://www.buffaloah.com/h/linc/linc.html> (Accessed April 21, 2018).

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

Illinois. An honor guard composed of several high-ranking officers, four officers, and 25 sergeants from a variety of Union regiments.<sup>170</sup> The casket stopped in various cities, in what author Barry Schwartz described as, “the most striking state ritual that Americans had ever witnessed or would ever witness again.”<sup>171</sup> Northern citizens, with the exception of Baltimore, who had once detested Lincoln now praised him on the journey to his final resting place. Just four years earlier, rebel sympathizers in Baltimore had attacked Union Soldiers heading south. Now, in 1865, ten thousand sympathetic citizens of Baltimore viewed Lincoln’s casket before the train made its next stop in Pennsylvania.<sup>172</sup> When the casket arrived in New York City, a procession of 160,000 led the casket to city hall as hundreds of thousands looked on.<sup>173</sup> New York City, like Erie County, had voted against Lincoln in the 1864.<sup>174</sup> However, by the time the casket arrived in Buffalo on April 27, 1865, the events were similar to that of Baltimore’s and New York City’s.

After stopping in Albany, the train carrying Lincoln’s body pulled in to Buffalo’s New York Central Railroad at 7:10 AM.<sup>175</sup> The coffin was then transferred to a hearse pulled by six white horses. The procession made its way to Niagara Square as an estimated crowd of thirty to forty thousand people looked on.<sup>176</sup> The procession contained a wide variety of citizens who had been involved in the military or the city’s civic affairs. Some notables were William Findlay Rogers, colonel of Buffalo’s 21<sup>st</sup> New York Infantry, Whig congressman and federal judge for the Northern New York District Nathan K. Hall, protestant leaders Rev. Allison, Lord, and Pitkin, Buffalo’s Board of Trade leader George S. Hazard, as well as several other high ranking

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<sup>170</sup> Maryniak, “One Funeral Makes Another.”

<sup>171</sup> Schwartz, 39.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Maryniak, “One Funeral Makes Another.”

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.



officers of local regiments.<sup>177</sup> Viewing of the casket started at 10 AM in St. James Hall.<sup>178</sup>

Lincoln's body left Buffalo for Cleveland at 10:19 PM, and continued its journey to Columbus, Ohio, on April 29<sup>th</sup>, Indianapolis on April 30<sup>th</sup>, Chicago on May 1<sup>st</sup>, and his final resting place in Springfield Illinois on May 3<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>179</sup>

### **Lincoln in Public Art**

The various ceremonies and processions that occurred in Northern cities like Buffalo attested to the acceleration of Lincoln's fame after his death. However, the relevant question to ask was how Lincoln became accepted as a symbol of the United States by diverse groups of Americans. His funeral procession can be credited with starting that process, as the funeral train in itself created a union of its own, bringing more people together in cities than ever before.<sup>180</sup> This union of people that commemorated Lincoln during his funeral procession had different aspects of Lincoln they admired.

Apart from the admiration of Lincoln's qualities that were identified in the eulogies written after his death, the Republic Party still admired what Lincoln had done for the country. They had been Lincoln's most prominent supporters of the war to restore the Union, as well as his decision to emancipate slaves.<sup>181</sup> On the contrary, Lincoln did not wish to enact radical reconstruction, instead, he favored the immediate return of southern states to the Union. Lincoln had also been temperamental and unclear about race and it is unknown how fair Lincoln would have gone to construct an interracial society in the south.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Schwartz, 41.

<sup>181</sup> Thomas, 5.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

Despite the mystery of how Lincoln may have approached racial issues after the war, he nonetheless became the symbol of emancipation. After the abolition of slavery in 1865, the United States still struggled over the meaning of freedom and how it translated into society. Racism had not ended with the abolition of slavery. Racial tensions had continued from the war in both Northern and Southern cities. Out of this outcome, a noble achievement such as emancipation became more easily identifiable with a white man like Lincoln, rather than that of African-Americans.<sup>183</sup> Therefore, the theme of emancipation existed as an act of racial uplift demonstrated by a white hero. This image is prominent in the post-war public art of Lincoln, as seen in Figure 12.

Following the end of reconstruction in 1876, Americans began to reimagine Lincoln in a way that was both less threatening to southerners and more symbolic of a powerful, united American nation.<sup>184</sup> This notion draws a number of similarities to that of the culture of reconciliation that was mentioned in the previous chapter.<sup>185</sup> As the increase of strikes, immigration, and economic and political corruption all contributed to a sense of moral disintegration in Northern society, the social elite turned to Lincoln as a, “cultivated and spiritual if still vigorous representative of the leadership democracy could produce at its best.”<sup>186</sup>

One such artist that represented the cultural elite in their depiction was Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Within his work, *Lincoln the Man*, Saint-Gaudens set out to portray Lincoln with as much realism as possible (Figure 13). He eschewed all representations of emancipation from Lincoln, instead Saint-Gaudens focused on the moral stature and soul of Lincoln.<sup>187</sup> He is

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<sup>183</sup> Savage, 65.

<sup>184</sup> Thomas, 9.

<sup>185</sup> See page x

<sup>186</sup> Thomas, 9.

<sup>187</sup> Savage, 122.

depicted as standing up in front of an audience, his clothes are creased, symbolizing his humanity while his calm and collected stance attests to his prestigious qualities that saved the Union.<sup>188</sup> The statue became the most popular monument to Lincoln in America and was credited with portraying his true historic perspective.<sup>189</sup>

By the turn of the century, Lincoln's reputation ran adjacent to the success of the Republican Party in the election of 1896. William McKinley won the presidential election while his fellow Republicans won both houses of congress. Lincoln, who had stood as a symbol of the Republican Party since his election in 1861, reached a new popularity through the nation's success under the Republican administration. Success in Cuba and the Philippines, the annexation of Hawaii, and the opening of free trade with China created a sense of national unity and triumph.<sup>190</sup> With these unifying factors, Lincoln's identification with the Republican Party soared his reputation. The Peterson house in Washington where Lincoln was carried to before his death, was purchased as a museum, and the government called for national monuments to him at Gettysburg and Washington.<sup>191</sup> Even in the South, Lincoln became more accepted a national symbol. The "New South" movement that began in the 1880s, addressed southerners to let go of the past and to integrate with the national economy and society.<sup>192</sup> One of the supporters of this movement was Woodrow Wilson, who saw Lincoln as a tragic figure that could have prevented Radical Reconstruction with his policy of immediate reconciliation.<sup>193</sup>

Essentially, North and South were reunited with their openness to national symbols. With Lincoln's appropriation as a national symbol, Julius E. Francis took the idea of Lincoln as a

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 124.

<sup>190</sup> Thomas, 13.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 12.

national symbol one step further. Francis, along with his organization, the “Lincoln Birthday Association,” attempted to establish Lincoln’s birthday as a national holiday. Although this effort failed, Francis’ and the committee’s efforts led to the construction of the *Lincoln, The Emancipator*, statue in Buffalo, New York.



Figure 12: *Lincoln and the Emancipated Slave* (1866), by Randolph Rodgers. Photo taken from <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/musart/x-1885.3/>.

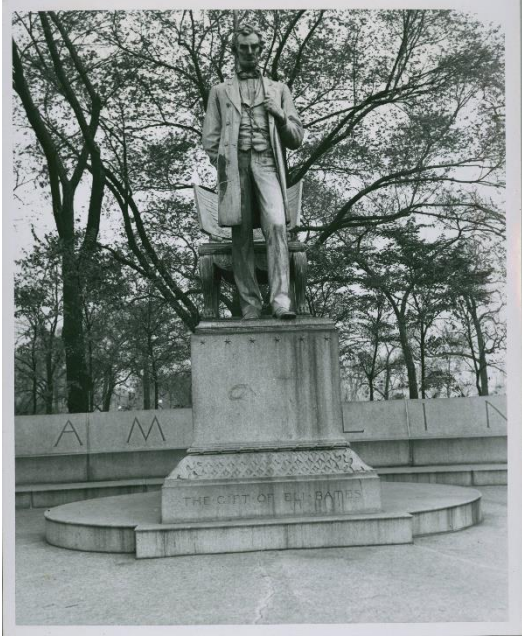


Figure 13: *Lincoln the Man* (1887), by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois. Taken from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abraham\\_Lincoln,\\_The\\_Man\\_statue\\_by\\_Augustus\\_Saint-Gaudens,\\_Lincoln\\_Park,\\_Chicago,\\_early\\_to...\\_\(NBY\\_3046\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abraham_Lincoln,_The_Man_statue_by_Augustus_Saint-Gaudens,_Lincoln_Park,_Chicago,_early_to..._(NBY_3046).jpg).

### Monument to Lincoln Efforts in Buffalo, New York

The story behind the *Lincoln the Emancipator* statue in Buffalo can be seen through efforts of a single man. Julius E. Francis, a Civil War and Lincoln enthusiast, began collecting Civil War memorabilia as early as 1861. Following the end of the war, Francis formed the “Lincoln Birthday Association,” an incorporated body dedicated to making Lincoln’s birthday a national holiday. He did not live long enough to see the erection of the Lincoln statue in 1902, however, the funds provided his will singlehandedly paid for its cost.<sup>194</sup> Although Francis provided the funding, it was the Lincoln Birthday Association that took the initiative to use Francis’ assets for the construction of the statue. Nonetheless, Francis did advocate for Lincoln

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<sup>194</sup> Frank H. Severance, *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society: Volume V*, (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1902), 408.

to be memorialized in the national realm. His efforts to secure Lincoln's birthday as a national holiday essentially meant to establish Lincoln as a national symbol of the United States.

Julius E. Francis, as well as the Lincoln Birthday Association, were the primary patrons behind the Lincoln the Emancipator statue in Buffalo. Francis was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, on January 11, 1822. After moving to Buffalo in 1835, he became the manager of a drug store located on 348 Main Street in 1839.<sup>195</sup> Francis, although not a participant in the Civil War, possessed a passion for Abraham Lincoln and all that was associated with him. Starting in 1861, Francis collected relics from battles such as Gettysburg, Antietam, and Bull Run. He also obtained autographs of 10,322 soldiers and sailors who fought in the war, including their rank, regiment, date of enlistment, and discharge, and the battles in which they were engaged.<sup>196</sup> Some of the most prominent autographs in the collection were by Union Generals Ulysses S. Grant, Phillip Sheridan, and William T. Sherman.<sup>197</sup> Also included were 1,500 autographs of the Forty-third congress, the U.S. Supreme Court Judges and other government officials, a complete collection of newspapers pertaining to the war such as the *New York Times*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, and the *Buffalo Express*, and lastly, wartime photos in scrapbooks.<sup>198</sup>

To many that admired Francis' collection, his relics were seen as a monument in itself. Juliana W. Dopp, whose association with Francis is unknown, stated:

Washington has, at least, been immortalized by the naming of our national capitol: but Lincoln might have been forgotten had not our generous, patriotic, and grateful citizen fellow-citizen, Mr. Julius E. Francis, plucked, as it were, the memory of our hero from oblivion to thrust it under the rays of immortality. It was he that reared a monument in honor of the preserver of our national liberties. Not a marble structure, but one whose like has never been seen before. It is not grand and colossal, in a worldly sense, but simple and

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 405.

<sup>196</sup> *The Lincoln Memorial Collection*, (Buffalo: Matthews, Northrup & Co., 1887), 5.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

eloquent. It is built with pen and ink and contains the history of thousands of soldiers and sailors who fought bravely for the Union.<sup>199</sup>

As Francis' collection was credited with preserving Lincoln, it can be seen that Lincoln is an essential piece of civil war remembrance. Also, by associating Lincoln's legacy to Washington, the effort to make Washington a national symbol is present. It is quite obvious that Francis had the intention to make Lincoln a national symbol, as he hosted celebrations for Lincoln's birthday yearly, and even attempted to make Lincoln's birthday a national holiday.

Francis organized the Lincoln Birthday Association in 1873.<sup>200</sup> Soon after, Francis, along with fifty citizens of Buffalo, signed a petition to establish Lincoln's birthday on February 12<sup>th</sup> as a national holiday. The proposal was introduced in the House of Representatives by Lyman K. Bass, on December 18, 1873.<sup>201</sup> It was referred to the Judiciary Committee on May 25, 1874, who denied it.<sup>202</sup> As it was seen in the last chapter, the period after the Civil War, was a time of sectional reunion. Lincoln, still seen as symbol of both emancipation and the Republican Party, did not yet possess the fame brought by the success of the Republican Party under McKinley.

Although Francis' efforts to establish Lincoln's birthday as a national holiday were defeated by congress, he continued to celebrate the day every year in Buffalo. The first public celebration of Lincoln's birthday took place on February 12, 1874, in St. James Hall in Buffalo.<sup>203</sup> Exercises included music, various readings, the singing of patriotic songs, and a religious benediction.<sup>204</sup> The celebrations were free for all, and over 60,000 engraved cards of Lincoln were given out each year to schools, government officials, and others.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>200</sup> Severance, 407.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

The Lincoln Birthday Association became an incorporated body on December 24, 1877 with P.P. Pratt, F.L. Danforth, J.R. Brownell, J.P. Dudley, O.P. Ramsdell, Francis, Francis' son, W.C. Francis, S.C. Adams, and George Meacham as trustees.<sup>206</sup> Four years later, Francis, passed away, and entrusted his collection of Civil War relics, valued at \$20,000, and most of his wealth to the Lincoln Birthday Association.<sup>207</sup> By 1900, the fund reached \$10,000, and the trustees of the association, headed by president Joseph P. Dudley, decided to use the funds to erect a monument to Lincoln in Francis' name.<sup>208</sup>

Dudley was a prime example of the cultural elite that turned to Lincoln as a prime example of American qualities that were threatened by strikes, immigration, and economic and political corruption in the late nineteenth century.<sup>209</sup> He was a powerful man who was involved in both the business and civic affairs of Buffalo. Dudley worked as general manager of the Standard Oil Assets in Buffalo, was trustee of the Erie County Savings Bank, director of the American Exchange and Hydraulic Bank and the Ellicott Square Company, president of the Buffalo Library and of the board of managers of the State Hospital for the Insane, and a member of various upper-class clubs that placed him among the city's elite.<sup>210</sup>

The association, led by Dudley, voted to place the statue within the new building plans of the Historical Society.<sup>211</sup> In return, the Lincoln Birthday Association made a deal with the leaders of the Buffalo Historical Society. Francis' collection of relics was donated to the Buffalo Historical Society, the present-day Buffalo History Museum, to compensate for the space needed for the statue.<sup>212</sup> The association chose a replica of Charles H. Niehaus' bronze statue that is

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 408.

<sup>209</sup> Thomas, 9.

<sup>210</sup> *The Men of New York*, (Buffalo: Geo. E. Matthews & Co., 1898), 29.

<sup>211</sup> Severance, 408.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.



located in Muskegon, Michigan.<sup>213</sup> The statue was erected in 1902 within the central hall of the new Historical Society Building.<sup>214</sup> The new statue was in a portion of the building known as “the Lincoln Room,” which also housed Francis’ collection of Civil War Relics.<sup>215</sup> The statue was moved outdoors in the 1930s.<sup>216</sup>

Ultimately, the location of the *Lincoln, the Emancipator Statue* in the present-day Buffalo History Museum symbolizes that Lincoln exists within the History of Buffalo. Although it is unrealistic that every citizen of Buffalo positively remembered Lincoln in the early twentieth century, the Lincoln Birthday Association’s funds, along with the agreement between the association and the Buffalo History Museum, allowed for Lincoln to be seemingly idolized in Buffalo.

### **The Physical Features of the *Lincoln, the Emancipator Statue***

The *Lincoln, the Emancipator Statue*, a replica of Charles H. Niehaus’ bronze statue of Lincoln in Muskegon, Michigan, was chosen by the Lincoln Birthday Association to represent Lincoln as a national symbol. The features are quite simple, as Lincoln is seated with his left leg crossed over his right. He holds the Emancipation Proclamation in his right hand and the inscription on the base reads, “The gift of Julius E. Francis through the Lincoln Birthday Association which he founded.” Given the time period it was erected in, the statue holds qualities that are representative of his moral stature and accomplishments.

As it has already been discussed, Lincoln, who had stood as a symbol of the Republican Party since his election in 1861, reached a new popularity in the early 1900s through the nation’s

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Susan Feck, Buffalo’s Julius Francis and Mr. Lincoln,” *The Buffalo History Museum Blog*, <https://buffalohistorymuseum.com/2015/02/12/buffalos-julius-francis-and-mr-lincoln/> (Accessed May 2, 2018).

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

success under the Republican administration. Success abroad created a sense of national unity and triumph.<sup>217</sup> With these unifying factors, Lincoln's reputation soared. Starting with the inscription, as seen by Figure 14, Julius E. Francis is credited, along with the Lincoln Birthday Association, with being the primary patrons of the monument. The efforts of these patrons were to establish Lincoln's birthday as a national holiday. Although unsuccessful, the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue can still be seen as a victory to establish Lincoln as a national symbol. The popularity of Lincoln through the success of the Republican Party no doubt influenced the statue's erection. With that being said, the efforts of Francis and the Lincoln Birthday Association that are remembered in the statue's inscription nonetheless represent the effort to make Lincoln a national symbol in the early twentieth century.

The physical stature of Lincoln draws similarities to that of Augustus Saint-Gaudens' work, *Lincoln the Man* (Figure 13). The humanity of Lincoln is clearly seen, as he sits calm and collected in his chair. (Figure 15). His face is stern, his clothes creased, and his bowtie is slightly crooked (Figure 15). All of these features attest to Lincoln's humanity. He holds the Emancipation Proclamation in his right hand, representing his noble achievement and that of the Republican Party.

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<sup>217</sup> Thomas, 13.

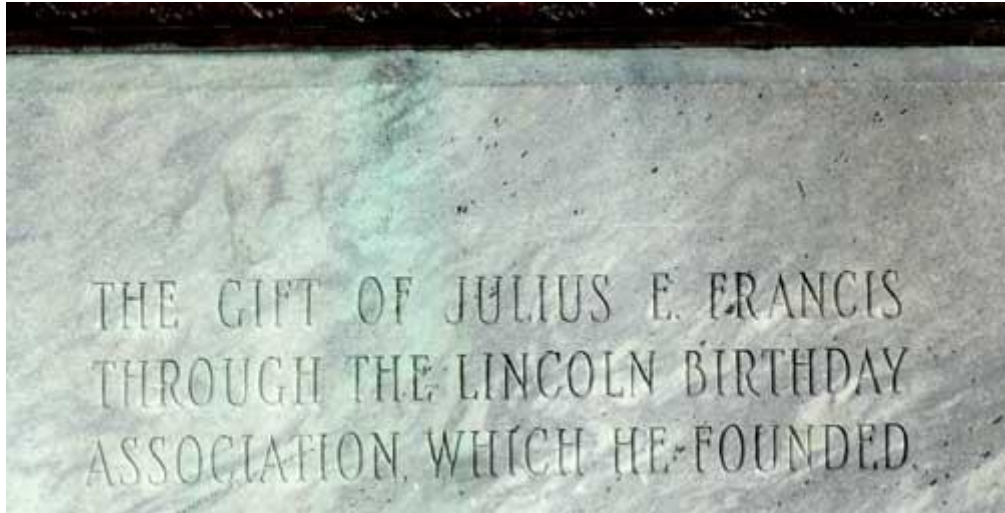


Figure 14: *Lincoln, The Emancipator*, (1902), Buffalo, New York, by Charles H. Niehaus. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).



Figure 15: *Lincoln, The Emancipator*, (1902), Buffalo, New York, by Charles H. Niehaus. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

## Discussion

The *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue, erected in 1902 through the efforts of the late Julius E. Francis and the Lincoln Birthday Association, symbolized the effort to make Lincoln a national symbol through the creation of a holiday on his birthday. Its features attest to Lincoln's moral qualities that were idolized by previous statues in the United States such as Augustus

Saint-Gaudens' work *Lincoln the Man* in Lincoln Park, Chicago. The success of the Republican Administration in the early twentieth also allowed Lincoln's popularity to soar to the national level. The *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue in Buffalo represents the efforts to create Lincoln as a national symbol to the United States. The combined factors of the Lincoln Birthday Association's funds, along with the statue's location at the Buffalo History Museum, established a memory of Lincoln that may not have been supported by all of Buffalo's citizens. However, patrons with wealth had the power to interpret history through public art. The Lincoln Birthday Association and the Buffalo History Museum saw Lincoln as a national symbol. Through the erection of the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue, Lincoln's commemoration as a national symbol became the assumed remembrance of Buffalo's citizens.

## **The Red Jacket Monument**

### **Introduction**

So far, two important events have been discussed in this paper that pertain to patronage and public art in Buffalo, New York. The erection of the *Soldiers and Sailors Monument* in Buffalo symbolized the first monument builders in the city that used their connections and wealth to interpret American History through public art. The Ladies Union Monument Association, the patrons of this monument, took into account Lincoln's "new birth of freedom," from the Gettysburg Address. Patrons of civil war monuments, such as the *Soldiers and Sailors* monument in Buffalo, interpreted this new birth of freedom as a freedom to form what was believed to be the general testimony of the people. In regards to the *Lincoln, the Emancipator* statue, patrons took this new birth of freedom in public art one step further. By commemorating Lincoln as a national symbol, patrons not only had the freedom to interpret American History, they also had the freedom to establish important symbols within American History.

As the patrons of public art in the United States progressed farther into interpreting American History and forming symbols, they faced the problem of interpreting conflicts that existed within the country's history. The relationship between the Native American tribes and the United States is one such issue that has criticized the history of the United States. The *Red Jacket Monument* (Figure 16), erected in 1890 by the Buffalo Historical Society, reflects the guilt felt by Buffalo's citizens towards Native Americans. In this feeling of guilt, the patrons of the Red Jacket Monument emphasized certain qualities of Red Jacket that made him an admirable American symbol.

The Red Jacket Monument is located in Forest Lawn Cemetery in Buffalo, New York. The Buffalo Historical Society raised money for the monument, and received a generous gift of

\$10,000 from the Huyler family of New York City. William C. Bryant, president of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1876, led the movement to rebury Red Jacket and to construct a monument in his honor.<sup>218</sup> The eleven-and-a-half-foot bronze statue was sculpted by James G. C. Hamilton of Cleveland. Red Jacket is situated on a granite pedestal with a hexagonal portion that symbolizes Red Jacket's association with the six Iroquois nations and is depicted in a standing position with a tomahawk in his hand. The tomahawk, as well as the peace metal around Red Jacket's neck were both presented to him by George Washington and are on display at the Buffalo History Museum.

Red Jacket's final wishes before his death were the following:

"Let my funeral be according to the customs of our nation. Let me be dressed and equipped as my fathers were, that their spirits may rejoice at my coming. Be sure that my grave be not made by a white man, let him not pursue me there!"<sup>219</sup>

Ironically, Red Jacket's remains were removed from his old burial ground in South Buffalo in 1852 and placed into the predominately white Forest Lawn Cemetery. The memorial was constructed almost thirty years later to designate his grave. Although Red Jacket's reburial at Forest Lawn Cemetery is an issue in itself, the history of Native Americans in Buffalo requires further examination in order to better understand the guilt felt by the patrons behind the Red Jacket Monument.

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<sup>218</sup> Truman C. White, *Our County and its People: A Descriptive Work on Erie County, New York, Volume 2*, (Boston: The Boston History Company, Publishers, 1898), 451.

<sup>219</sup> "Red Jacket Monument Sagoyewatha (He Keeps Them Awake): Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, NY, *Buffalo Architecture*, <http://buffaloah.com/a/forestL/redj/index.html> (Accessed May 17, 2018).



Figure 16: Red Jacket Monument, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

### Red Jacket and the Seneca in Buffalo

The earliest Native American tribe in the Buffalo region were the Eries. They held the central border of the lake until they were conquered by the Iroquois Confederacy around 1655.<sup>220</sup> Up until the American Revolution, the Senecas, one of the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy, stayed east of the Genesee River. However, the raids conducted by General John Sullivan of the Continental Army devastated the Seneca homeland in the Genesee Valley. By 1779, the British allied Senecas sought refuge and relocated to the Niagara River.<sup>221</sup> After the end of the American Revolution, around two thousand Senecas migrated southward to the banks of Buffalo Creek.<sup>222</sup>

In 1784, the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States signed the treaty of Fort Stanwix in present day Rome, New York. The treaty stated that the lands to be held by the Iroquois

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<sup>220</sup> Charles Arthur Conant, *The History of Buffalo*, (New York: The Progress of the Empire State Company New York, 1913), 5.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>222</sup> Mark Goldman, *High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo*, New York, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 27.

Confederacy in New York and Pennsylvania were to run parallel with the Niagara River, throughout the length of the river, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, and then south from the mouth of Buffalo Creek.<sup>223</sup> This agreement placed much of present day Buffalo outside of the Native American lands. In 1791, Robert Morris purchased the four million acres of land between the Genesee and Niagara from the state of Massachusetts. Almost immediately after the transaction, Morris sold the land to a private Dutch syndicate known as the Holland Land Company. Because a foreign company was not permitted to hold land in the United States, a temporary corporation was created until 1798, when the state of New York changed the law to allow the Holland Land Company to purchase the land.<sup>224</sup> However, the Seneca still claimed the land as their own. Due to this issue, the Dutch company refused to purchase the land from Morris until all Native American claims to the land were removed.<sup>225</sup>

By the late eighteenth century, the Seneca known as Red Jacket had emerged as the leader of the tribe in Western New York. Red Jacket was known as the tribe's sachem, or civilian leader and it was through him that the land had to be negotiated.<sup>226</sup> He was a respected leader who had fought for the British during the American Revolution and was thus awarded a scarlet jacket from the British for his service.<sup>227</sup> Due to this instance, he was given the nickname "Red-Jacket" by the white settlers of the region. Red Jacket's true name was "Sagoyewatha," meaning, "he keeps them awake."<sup>228</sup>

Red Jacket received a peace medal from George Washington in 1792 as a collective effort by the United States government to make peace with the various Native American tribes

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<sup>223</sup> Conant, 9.

<sup>224</sup> Goldman, 27.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>227</sup> Conant, 9.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 8.



that had fought alongside the British during the American Revolution. Despite this gesture by the United States Government, Red Jacket had never trusted their intentions. He had opposed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784 and was no different in dealing with Robert Morris' negotiations. Morris was highly eager to finalize the deal between him and the Holland Land Company. He had fallen on financial difficulties from land deals in the new District of Columbia and was later confined to debtors' prison in Philadelphia between 1798 and 1801.<sup>229</sup> In 1797, Robert's son, Thomas, traveled to Western New York to attempt to negotiate the land from Red Jacket and the Seneca. In order for the Senecas to sell their land, he successfully convinced them to hold a council at Geneseo, New York. Red Jacket resisted the negotiations, and after fourteen days, the council broke down and no treaty was accomplished.<sup>230</sup>

In order to improve his situation, Thomas Morris went behind the back of Red Jacket and gathered several Seneca chiefs who opposed Red Jacket. The chiefs informed the younger Morris that the Seneca women and chiefs had the power to elevate themselves over the sachem. Shortly thereafter, he bribed the Seneca women with beads, silver, and other clothes after the treaty was finalized.<sup>231</sup> The chiefs had already opposed sachem rule and therefore did not need to be bribed. Cornplanter, one of the Seneca's warchiefs, reopened talks with Thomas Morris and in conclusion, a deal was made. The formal treaty, known today as the Treaty of Big Tree, was signed in 1797. The Seneca gave up the title to Western New York in exchange for \$10,000 and three reservations on the Niagara Frontier.<sup>232</sup> The largest reservation was located on Buffalo Creek, in present day South Buffalo. The Buffalo Creek Reservation extended eastward from

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<sup>229</sup> Goldman, 28.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

Lake Erie, along both sides of Buffalo Creek, had a width of seven miles, and contained one hundred thirty square miles.<sup>233</sup>

With all Indian claims to Western New York eliminated, the Holland Land Company purchased the land from Robert Morris for a sum \$4,000,000.<sup>234</sup> The injustice to the Senecas is clearly seen by this purchase. The Senecas had sold their land to Robert Morris for \$10,000, who in return, sold the land for \$4,000,000. Unable to access their hunting grounds and fields, the Seneca soon found themselves in poverty. To make matters worse for the Seneca, they lost a portion of the Buffalo Creek Reservation in the early nineteenth century.

Joseph Ellicott, who had been appointed by the Holland Land Company to survey Western New York, recognized the importance of Buffalo Creek's location at the mouth of Lake Erie.<sup>235</sup> The area in which Buffalo Creek meets Lake Erie was originally owned by William Johnson, a loyalist during the American Revolution that had married a Seneca woman. Due to his marriage, the Senecas held Johnson in high praise and granted him two miles of land.<sup>236</sup> Ellicott offered Johnson more land at a different location if Johnson sold his land at the mouth of Buffalo Creek. Johnson agreed, and as part of the purchase, persuaded the Senecas to leave a large stretch of land on the lower portion of the Buffalo Creek Reservation.<sup>237</sup>

By 1804, Ellicott had laid out a map of the future City of Buffalo, and soon after, settlers flocked to the frontier village from New England and other parts of New York.<sup>238</sup> Red Jacket, who had opposed the Treaties of Fort Stanwix and Big Tree, appeared to be correct in his distrust

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<sup>233</sup> Conant 13.

<sup>234</sup> Goldman, 27.

<sup>235</sup> Conant, 12.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 13.

of the white man. In an article from 1885 within *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, a story was told that involved Red Jacket and Joseph Ellicott.

One day the two met in the Tonawanda Swamp, and sat down together on a log. After a few moments of silence, which Mr. Ellicott knew too much of Indian custom to interrupt, Red Jacket exclaimed, "move along Joe." The request was complied with. After a few moments it was repeated. Red Jacket gave the peremptory order several times, until by degrees Mr. Ellicott had moved to the extreme verge of the log. Again, came the mandate, "Joe, move along." "But there is no room left," was the answer. "That," cried Red Jacket, "is the way the white man treats."<sup>239</sup>

Whether or not this story between Red Jackett and Ellicott is true, the interaction between the two clearly represents the relationship between the Seneca and white settlers. Red Jacket was not only concerned with the loss of land, but also the disappearing of his tribe's pagan culture.

Although missionary activities had occurred in Western New York as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Quaker missionaries arrived on the Buffalo Creek in the mid-1790s.<sup>240</sup> The Quaker's were not successful in attracting converts, and it wasn't until the Baptists established a mission in 1800 that the tribe became divided in religion.<sup>241</sup> Red Jacket, a true patron of the old Seneca traditions, heavily detested the missionaries, and referred to them as the "black coats."<sup>242</sup> In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, Red Jacket became the faction leader of the remaining pagans within the Senecas. He later became accused by the Baptist missionaries for dividing the Seneca councils and of opposing education.<sup>243</sup> However, as much as he resisted conversion to Christianity, the religion soon infiltrated his family. Red Jacket's oldest son was married in the reservation's first Christian wedding. As for his wife, Red Jacket ceased living with her after her conversion to Christianity.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Henry Mills Alden, "The City of Buffalo," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine Volume 71*, November, 1885, 216.

<sup>240</sup> Goldman, 29.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

Red Jacket died sometime around 1830 at the age of 80.<sup>245</sup> Shortly before his death, Red Jacket made a speech to his people:

I look around me and see the situation of my people: in old times united and powerful, now divided feeble. I feel sorry for my nation. When I am gone to the other world-when the Great Spirit calls me away- who among you can take my place?<sup>246</sup>

### **The Seneca after Red Jacket's Death**

It is hard to believe that if another Seneca leader had taken Red Jacket's place, they would have had the power to withstand the power of the United States Government. In 1838, much of the Seneca were bribed into signing a treaty known as the Treaty of Buffalo Creek. All four of the Seneca reservations were turned over for development to white settlers. The Seneca were therefore forced off of their land and forced to relocate to a 1,824,000-acre reservation in the Kansas Territory. The treaty gave the Seneca six years to relocate to the Kansas Territory or their new reservation was to be forfeited. Many of the Seneca and other New York tribes died en route to the Indian territory from cholera, extreme weather, and starvation.<sup>247</sup>

Shortly after its signing, a movement evolved to overturn the Treaty of Buffalo Creek. A group of white Native-American sympathizers known as "The Friends" prepared a document titled *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York*. The document outlined a number of contradictions the United States Government had imposed on the Seneca. An important statement highlighted by The Friends dated back to 1802. Henry Dearborn, Secretary of the War Office gave the following statement in regards to the protection of Native American land:

As well, therefore, to remove all apprehension from the minds of Seneca and Onondaga Indians, as to secure them the possession of said lands, it is hereby announced and declared, by the authority aforesaid, on behalf of the Government of the United States,

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<sup>245</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 10, 1893*, (Buffalo: The Courier Company, 1893), 39.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>247</sup> Laurence M Hauptman, "The State's Men, the Salvation Seekers, and the Seneca: The Supplemental Treaty of Buffalo Creek, 1842," *New York History* 78, no. 1 (January, 1997): 53.

that all lands claimed by, and secured to the said Seneca and Onondaga Indians forever, unless they shall voluntarily relinquish or dispose of the same. And all persons, citizens of the United States, are hereby strictly forbidden to disturb said Indian nations, in the quiet possessions of said lands.<sup>248</sup>

Needless to say, times have changed since 1802. Andrew Jackson's Indian removal policies as well as Buffalo's growth in population both influenced the government's decision to take more land from the Seneca. However, the efforts of The Friends and members of the Seneca who had remained in Buffalo defeated the treaty. In return, a second treaty was drafted in 1842, which gave back the Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations to the Seneca but not the Buffalo Creek or Tonawanda Reservations.<sup>249</sup> By 1850, the Buffalo Creek Reservation was abandoned by the Seneca and cleared for development.<sup>250</sup> The Senecas mostly remained in New York State, the Alleghany and Cattaraugus reservations still exist today, and the Tonawanda Reservation was acquired back in 1857.<sup>251</sup>

Despite the removal of the Senecas from the Buffalo Creek Reservation, Red Jacket's remains still remained in the reservation's burial ground. Although gone, by the late nineteenth century, Red Jacket stood as the city of Buffalo's favorite Native American. Red Jacket Parkway, a part of Frederick Law Olmsted's interconnected set of parkways and parks in Buffalo, is named after him, as well as the Red Jacket Building, an 1893 apartment and commercial building in Buffalo. However, none of these dedications to Red Jacket were as prominent as the 1890 Red Jacket Monument located in Buffalo's Forest Lawn Cemetery.

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<sup>248</sup> *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York: Illustrated by Facts*, (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, Printers, 1840), 6.

<sup>249</sup> Hauptman, 53.

<sup>250</sup> Goldman, 32.

<sup>251</sup> Henry S. Manley, "Burying Buffalo from the Indians," *New York History* 28, no. 3 (July, 1947): 329.

## Native Americans in Public Art

The Red Jacket monument in Buffalo is an example of Native Americans in Public Art that have been erected through white patrons. Although they are not statues, the four paintings within the Capitol Rotunda represent how Native Americans have been depicted in United States history in the nineteenth century. These paintings, the *Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, 1613* (1839), the *Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven, Holland, July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1620* (1843), the *Landing of Columbus at the Island of Guanahani, West Indies, October 12, 1492* (1846), and lastly, the *Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, A.D. 1541* (1853), all represent the common theme of manifest destiny, the nineteenth century belief that the United States should expand throughout the American continents.<sup>252</sup>

Starting with the *Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, 1613*, by John Gadsby Chapman (Figure 16), is an example of the spread of Christianity into Native American tribes. An armed guardsman stands at the podium, while several Native Americans sit on the floor; uneasy and uncertain about the baptismal ceremony. Pocahontas is depicted in a white dress and appears to more civilized than the other Native Americans in the background. Even Chapman, the artist behind the mural, admitted in the official description that his work paid tribute to those, “daring and desperate adventurous who left their home and native land for no other purpose than to exterminate the ancient proprietors of the sole and usurp their possessions.”<sup>253</sup> Therefore, if the religion and traditions of Native Americans is seen as a kind of cultural possession, Pocahontas’ baptism can be seen as the extermination of their religion in favor of Christianity.

No sympathy towards Native Americans is shown by this painting, however, as the painting was chosen by a white committee to hang in the Capitol Rotunda of the United States

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<sup>252</sup> Webster, 33.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 38.

there is no question that Pocahontas and the white settlers are the main characters in this artwork. Pocahontas is willingly being converted to Christianity by a white clergyman. The idea is simple, Pocahontas is being commemorated as a hero within American History because of her conversion to Christianity and her helpful nature to the white settlers of Jamestown. Pocahontas is seen as symbol of manifest destiny because she had essentially preserved herself within American history by converting to Christianity. All others that did not fall into this feature of American culture were therefore swept up by manifest destiny.

Another religious message is seen in the *Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven, Holland, July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1620* by Robert W. Weir (Figure 17). Although no Native Americans are pictured, religion is a key theme in the painting, as the pilgrims are seen praying aboard the Mayflower. Although no Native Americans are pictured, the message is quite obvious. As it is known that the Pilgrims eventually reached the shores of present day Massachusetts, by depicting them praying, the idea that God had answered their prayers and had given them the New World is the message that is depicted by Weir's work. The Native Americans living on the continent long before the first Europeans were not entitled to the land. Instead, it was God's will and the pilgrim's destiny to establish a colony in Massachusetts.

The *Landing of Columbus at the Island of Guanahani, West Indies, October 12, 1492* by John Vanderlyn (Figure 18) depicts Christopher Columbus heroically landing in the West Indies. Once again, a religious message is seen as Columbus looks to the sky as if to thank God for his discovery. Like other scholars that have studied this painting, Sally Webster describes one opinion of the painting's meaning in her work, *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context,*

*and Controversy*, as a representation of the United States' desire to, "conquer, dominate, and destroy the native populations and exploit the lands of the Americans."<sup>254</sup>

The *Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, A.D. 1541* (Figure 19) by William H. Power was chosen by the members of congress to be placed in the Capitol Rotunda at the height of the Manifest Destiny in the 1850s.<sup>255</sup> Hernando De Soto is seen riding into a Native-American camp upon his discovery of the Mississippi River. A chief is seen holding out a peace pipe in an act of submission to the European conquerors. A cross is being raised in the bottom right corner of the painting, once again symbolizing the importance of Christianity. The natives are depicted in an uncivilized manner. Hernando De Soto, as well as his men, are dressed in elaborate clothing. The natives on the other hand, are seen naked and baring little clothes. Therefore, it can be seen that De Soto has brought civilization to the area. The connection between Manifest Destiny and Power's painting is clearly seen as the painting was erected in a time period of U.S. expansion, and serves as a reminder that all land to and beyond the Mississippi River belonged to the United States.

Although Manifest Destiny can be identified as a key theme of these paintings within the Capitol Rotunda, the submission of Native Americans to their European conquerors that helped to reinforce the notion of Manifest Destiny is highly important as well. Two examples of this have been seen as Pocahontas in the *Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, 1613*, submits to Christianity. The other example is within the *Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, A.D. 1541*, as a Native American offers a peace pipe to Hernando De Soto, therefore submitting himself and his tribe to the Europeans.

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.



The *Pioneer Monument* (Figure 20) by Frank Happersberger in San Francisco is a key example of public art that contains a depiction of Native Americans through the eyes of the statue's white patrons. The 1894 statue was commissioned for San Francisco by millionaire James Lick.<sup>256</sup> Lick, himself a pioneer to California who engaged in a number of industries, was the wealthiest man in California at the time of his death in 1876. Lick left \$100,000 in his will for the construction of a monument that depicted California's early history.<sup>257</sup> The monument contains four piers that represent the early history of California.

The most controversial of these piers is a bronze sculpture titled, "Early Days (Figure 21)." The sculpture depicts an Indian that has fallen at the feet of a Franciscan missionary and a Spanish vaquero, two groups that contributed to the devastation of Native American culture in California.<sup>258</sup> The Society of California Pioneers, led by Willard B. Farewell, was the group that dedicated the monument. Farewell made no connection between the "Early Days" portion of the monument and the destruction of Native American culture. Instead, he stated that the monument would tell, "the romantic story of the early days, and the boundless possibilities of this great empire of peace and prosperity."<sup>259</sup> Today, "Early Days" has been recognized by critics as, "an offensive and condescending depiction of Native Americans that fails to acknowledge racism, colonization, and genocide."<sup>260</sup> For that reason, the San Francisco Arts Commission unanimously agreed in March of 2018 to remove the statue.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Gary Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 14.

<sup>257</sup> Rand Richards, *Historic Walks in San Francisco: 18 Trails Through the City's Past*, (San Francisco: Heritage House Publishers, 2008), 52.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>259</sup> Brechin, 14.

<sup>260</sup> "San Francisco to Remove Controversial 'Early Days' Statue," CBS SF Bay Area, <http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2018/03/08/controversial-early-days-statue-removal-native-americans/> (Accessed May, 26, 2018).

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.,

The “Early Days” portion of the *Pioneer Monument* in San Francisco, forms a bridge between the Capitol Rotunda building and the *Red Jacket Monument*. The “Early Days” sculpture represents the same values of the patrons that commissioned the Capitol Rotunda paintings. Essentially, the “Early Days” sculpture captures, in statue form, the entitlement of white settlers through manifest destiny, as well as the submission of Native American culture to white settlers. Christianity also serves as a tool in all of these works, as it stood as a reason for white settlers such as the pilgrims, the colonists at Jamestown, De Soto’s conquistadors, Christopher Columbus, and California’s early pioneers, to take the lands and remove the seemingly inferior culture of Native Americans.

The *Red Jacket Monument*, is different than the previously discussed examples of Native Americans in Public Art. Unlike the “Early Days” sculpture in San Francisco and the murals in the Capitol Rotunda, Red Jacket is not depicted in a submissive position. Instead, he stands tall and is seemingly above the rest of the surrounding grave stones in the cemetery. In regards to the history of Buffalo, Red Jacket is not depicted as being conquered. He can instead be seen as adopted into the history of Buffalo. Whether or not it was from past guilt from the removal of the Senecas, Red Jacket became an unsung hero to the citizens of Buffalo, placing his memorial in direct relation with the celebration of mighty heroes, groups of unsung heroes, and great deeds that characterized the period in the United States between 1870 and 1910.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Savage, 90.



Figure 17: *Baptism of Pocahontas*, (1839), Washington D.C., by John Gadsby Chapman. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).



Figure 18: *Embarkation of Pilgrims*, (1843), Washington D.C., by Robert W. Weir. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).



Figure 19: *Landing of Columbus*, (1846), Washington D.C., by John Vanderlyn. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).



Figure 20: *Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto*, (1853), Washington D.C., by William H. Powell. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).





Figure 21: Pioneer Monument, (1894), San Francisco, California, by Frank Happersberger. Photo taken from [www.wikimedia.org](http://www.wikimedia.org).

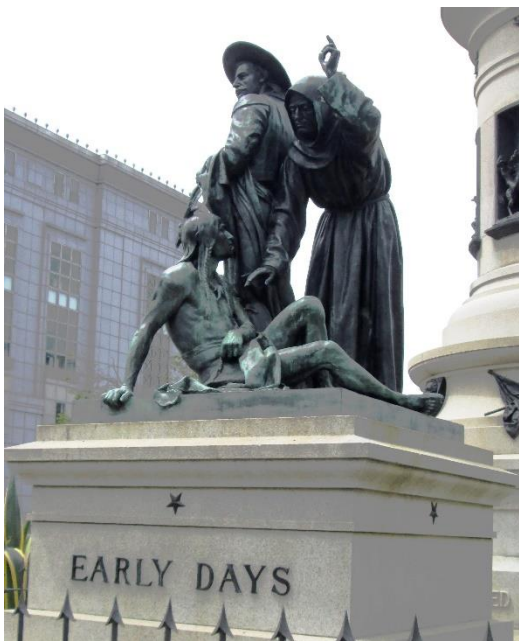


Figure 22: "Early Days," Pioneer Monument, (1894), San Francisco, California, by Frank Happersberger. Photo taken from [www.wikimedia.org](http://www.wikimedia.org).

### **The Red Jacket Monument**

The *Red Jacket Monument* is located in Buffalo's Forest Lawn Cemetery, a predominantly white and Christian cemetery in the nineteenth century. Forest Lawn Cemetery's

roots extend back to 1849, when Charles E. Clarke purchased the grounds from Rev. James N. Granger, and his brother, Warren Granger, for \$150 per acre.<sup>263</sup> After the cemetery's founding, Clark suggested that a tribute to Native Americans who aided the United States during the American Revolution and War of 1812 be erected in Forest Lawn Cemetery. Historians argue that Clark suggested this tribute in order to secure a celebrity burial that could potentially generate the sales of burial plots in Forest Lawn.<sup>264</sup> Clark eventually got his wish when in 1884, Red Jacket's remains were moved by the Buffalo Historical Society and into Forest Lawn Cemetery.

After his death in 1830, Red Jacket had been buried on the former Buffalo Creek Reservation just four miles away from Buffalo. In 1863, Chief Strong, a respected Seneca leader, delivered a speech at St. James Hall, in Buffalo. He appealed to the audience to rescue the remains of Red Jacket and the other chiefs buried on the old reservation, and to bury them in Forest Lawn Cemetery.<sup>265</sup> Although Red Jacket's dying wish was to not be buried in a white cemetery, Chief Strong had ignored his request in fear of Red Jacket's grave being disturbed and decimated by development:

There is one boon we would ask of you. Gather up tenderly the bones of Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Young King, Pollard and their brother chieftains and bury them in yonder cemetery, where the plow of the husbandman will not invade their repose. There, in sight of their own beautiful river, and under the shadow of the trees they loved so much, our sachems will sleep well.<sup>266</sup>

Chief Strong's appeal did not fall upon deaf ears. In 1876, William C. Bryant, the president of the Buffalo Historical Society, visited the Cattaraugus Reservation, and asked the

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<sup>263</sup> *Forest Lawn: Its History, Dedications, Progress, Regulations, Names of Lot Holders*, (Buffalo: Thomas, Howard, & Johnson, 1867), 10.

<sup>264</sup> "The Graves of Red Jacket," *Western New York Heritage*, [https://www.wnyheritage.org/content/the\\_graves\\_of\\_red\\_jacket/index.html](https://www.wnyheritage.org/content/the_graves_of_red_jacket/index.html) (Accessed May 29, 2018).

<sup>265</sup> *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1884*, (Buffalo: The Courier Co., 1884), 5.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

Council of the Seneca Nation for approval to move Red Jacket's grave.<sup>267</sup> Bryant was a man of upper-class stature in Buffalo. He possessed ancestral roots in New England dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was admitted to the bar in 1854, served as vice president of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1863, served as President of Buffalo's Common Council in 1865, and in 1876, became the president of the Buffalo Historical Society.<sup>268</sup> Bryant approached the Seneca Council, which included Red Jacket's grandson, John Jacket, and the latter approved Bryant's proposal. Red Jacket's remains were removed from the former Buffalo Creek Reservation in October of 1879.<sup>269</sup> After their removal, Red Jacket's bones were stored in a pine box within the vaults of the Western New York Savings Bank.<sup>270</sup>

Before the erection of the Red Jacket Monument in 1890, Red Jacket had already been commemorated at his reburial. This reburial solves a few important questions about Red Jacket's remembrance, one of which deals with why Red Jacket was admired by Buffalo's citizens. The other being what justified Red Jacket's reburial in a white cemetery.

On Thursday, October 9, 1884, Red Jacket, along with the remains of several other Seneca chiefs were entered into Forest Lawn Cemetery.<sup>271</sup> A number of Iroquois chiefs were invited to attend the ceremonies, and many served as bearers to the caskets as they were moved from the Historical Society and into Forest Lawn. The Buffalo Historical Society chose the location of the Native American plot to be not far from the Delaware entrance to the cemetery. Near the graves was a platform decorated by American flags.<sup>272</sup> William C. Bryant, a member of the Buffalo Historical Society spoke at the ceremony, who spoke highly of Red Jacket, but did

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>268</sup> White, 451.

<sup>269</sup> *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1884*, 7.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 13.

not cover up the fact that Red Jacket had disliked Christianity and the encroachment of white settlers. In speaking of Red Jacket, Bryant stated at the ceremony:

He was opposed by the missionaries and their converts. He could not always rely upon the constituency, torn as they were by dissensions, broken-spirited, careless of the future, impatient at any interruption of present gratification, and incapable of discerning, as he did, the terrible, inexorable destiny toward which they were slowly advancing.<sup>273</sup>

Bryant's mention of "inexorable destiny," brings up an interesting observation. In today's world, it is hard to imagine destiny as the reason behind the disappearance of a culture. Bryant, in the same speech, even refers to Red Jacket as "the last of the Senecas."<sup>274</sup> Although it is not directly spoken of by Bryant, the destiny he may have been referring is that of Manifest Destiny.

Although this may be true, Bryant attested to the qualities of Red Jacket:

He remains still the consummate orator, the resolute, unselfish patriot, the forest statesman centuries in advance of his race; the central figure in that little group of aboriginal heroes which stands out in lurid relief on the canvas of American History.<sup>275</sup>

Red Jacket's devotion to his tribe and culture made him admirable to the citizens of Buffalo, who worked hard to dispose of his associations with the British during the American Revolution.

Later that same evening, George W. Clinton, who has already been seen in this work as the author behind the speech "The Spirit of 1876," blamed the British for manipulating the Seneca during an oration about Red Jacket to a crowd assembled at an unnamed music hall in Buffalo:

So, in the long state of bitter feeling between our country and Great Britain, during her retention of our frontier outposts, she egged the Indians on to war with us, in the hope of their making the Ohio a part of our northern boundary. Then, and long before that time, some of the Indian tribes realized that, to their own great loss and danger, Great Britain, in her selfish policy, was bribing them to fight battles on their own.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 32.



Essentially, these statements by Bryant and Clinton on the day of Red Jacket's reburial gave Red Jacket relatable qualities to that of a U.S. citizen. Red Jacket's qualities of patriotism and the devotion to his tribe are comparable to that of an American citizen's patriotism and devotion to the United States. As it has been seen, this is not the first time in Buffalo that historical figures have been commemorated in public art for their qualities. The Ladies Union Monument Association chose the design of common soldier to be featured on the *Soldiers and Sailors Monument* in Buffalo. As the soldiers depicted on the *Soldiers and Sailors Monument* represented the qualities of sacrifice and duty, the Lincoln Birthday Association admired Lincoln for his leadership and his accomplishment of emancipation. Red Jacket, as depicted in Bryant's statement, is remembered for his patriotism, loyalty, leadership, and devotion to his tribe.

When placed into the nineteenth century, these qualities were admired by the upper-class society of the United States, who feared that the United States was changing. It has already been discussed that the concept of the culture of reconciliation, stemming from Nina Silber's, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, was a reaction to the troubling social fractures of the Gilded Age as well as changes in American Society. The increase of strikes, immigration, and political corruption all contributed to sense of moral disintegration in Northern society. What followed was an attempt to fix the country's moral compass.<sup>277</sup> The removal of the Seneca from their ancestral lands could have been one such moral dilemma that the citizens of Buffalo had been guilty of. A local Buffalo newspaper stated that Chief Strong's appeal to the citizens of Buffalo in 1863 brought the audience to tears.<sup>278</sup> Although Strong's appeal occurred before the end of the Civil War, William C. Bryant of the Buffalo Historical Society acted upon Strong's request, perhaps demonstrating the effort to make up for the guilt of

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<sup>277</sup> Silber, 96.

<sup>278</sup> *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1884*, 5.

the past. Mark Goldman, author of *High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo, New York*, agrees with this idea, as he called the transfer of Red Jacket's remains to Forest Lawn Cemetery as, "part of this community-wide effort to expiate the guilt of past."<sup>279</sup> A report from the Buffalo Historical Society in 1885 further supports the notion of guilt towards past relations with Native-Americans:

From the earliest settlement of this country the Indian has drunk of the bitter cup of injustice. Hunted from river to river, from forest to forest, he arrives at the close of two centuries of struggles, fatigues and misery, poor and bereaved of all.<sup>280</sup>

The reinternment of Red Jacket's remains in Forest Lawn Cemetery preceded the construction of the Red Jacket Monument by six years. In 1890, Bryant was selected to serve on a committee chosen by the Buffalo Historical Society that was to oversee the creation of a statue dedicated to Red Jacket. Bryant acted as chairman, and the committee chose the work of James G.C. Hamilton of Cleveland, Ohio.<sup>281</sup> The committee struggled to raise funds, and it was not until a woman by the name of Mrs. Huyler donated \$10,000 for the monument after visiting the rooms of the Buffalo Historical Society.<sup>282</sup>

The unveiling of the Red Jacket statue took place on June 22, 1893.<sup>283</sup> The ceremony included a prayer by Rev. Isaac Barefoot, a Mohawk missionary, remarks by the Buffalo Historical Society's president, George S. Hazard, the unveiling of the statue by Red Jacket's grandson, Chief John Jacket, an oration by Buffalo attorney and judge David F. Day, and ancient Iroquois rituals.<sup>284</sup> Day spoke highly of Red Jacket in his oration, and even brought to the

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<sup>279</sup> Goldman, 33.

<sup>280</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 13, 1885, and the Society Proceedings*, 9.

<sup>281</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 12, 1892, and the Society Proceedings*, (Buffalo: Baker, Jones & Co., Printers and Binders, 1892), 16.

<sup>282</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 10, 1893, and the Society Proceedings*, (Buffalo: Baker, Jones & Co., Printers and Binders, 1893), 26.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

crowd's attention a quote by Millard Filmore that compared Red Jacket to Patrick Henry.<sup>285</sup>

Similar to the reinternment ceremony of Red Jacket, his qualities were once again attested to, as Day spoke of Red Jacket's patriotism and valor.

“But it I right, emphatically right, that all who respect integrity, and patriotism, and valor, should honor as you have honored the greatest and noblest specimen of the Indian race.”<sup>286</sup>

The ceremony ended with a speech from Red Jacket's grandson, John Jacket, who expressed his gratitude to the Buffalo Historical Society and extended his thanks to all of the citizens of Buffalo.<sup>287</sup>

Although it was Red Jacket's dying wish to not be buried in a white man's cemetery, the Buffalo Historical Society took on the initiative to do so after the appeal of Chief Strong in 1863. It is unknown if the Historical Society would have reburied Red Jacket on their own, however Chief Strong gave the society permission to do so. The guilt from their ancestor's treatment of the Seneca was apparent, as it was clearly illustrated in the Buffalo Historical Society's Annual Report in 1885.<sup>288</sup> With these two factors, the society, in a way, adopted Red Jacket into their own collective memory of American history. In order to do so, the society had to testify to Red Jacket's qualities that essentially made him American. Furthermore, the physical features of the Red Jacket statue justify this idea, as Hamilton sculpted Red Jacket with two important symbols.

### **The Physical Features of the *Red Jacket Monument***

The eleven and one half high bronze statue sits on a pedestal of gray Rhode Island granite that has Red Jacket's Seneca name and death date inscribed on it (Figure 22). Below the pedestal is a hexagonal structure that symbolizes the Red Jacket's connection with the six tribes of the

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>288</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 13, 1885, and the Society Proceedings*, 9.

Iroquois Confederacy (Figure 23).<sup>289</sup> The figure of Red Jacket at the top of the pedestal has his hand extended, perhaps as a representation of the Native American greeting. It is difficult to determine if Red Jacket is wearing the jacket given to him by the British, however it does make sense for the jacket to be absent as Red Jacket is essentially being depicted as an American symbol. The two most notable features on the monument are the tomahawk held in Red Jacket's hand (Figure 24) and the peace medal he wears around neck (Figure 25). Both if these were gifted by George Washington and it is no surprise that Red Jacket is depicted wearing them. The tomahawk and peace medal were in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society and are all still on display today at the Buffalo History Museum. Both of the features draw a connection between Red Jacket and American history as Red Jacket is being associated with one of the greatest American symbols in George Washington.

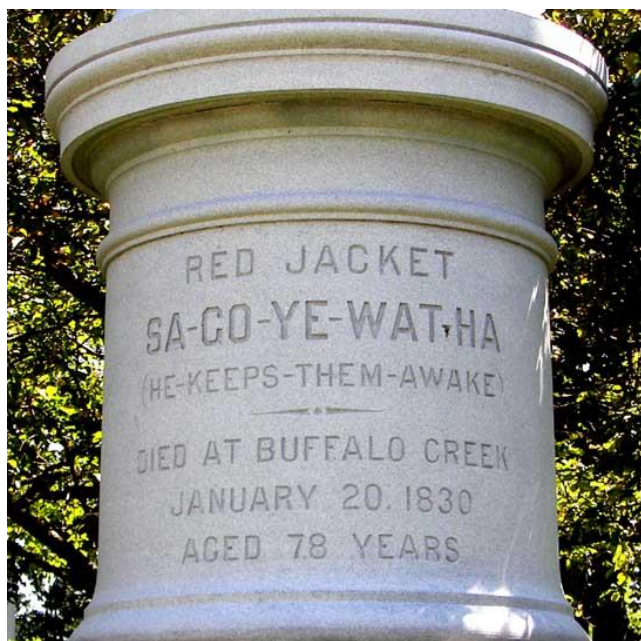


Figure 23: Pedestal of gray Rhode Island granite. Red Jacket Monument, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

<sup>289</sup> “Red Jacket Monument Sagoyewatha (He Keeps Them Awake): Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, NY, *Buffalo Architecture*, <http://buffaloah.com/a/forestL/redj/index.html> (Accessed May 17, 2018).



Figure 24: Hexagonal, symbolizing Red Jacket's connection with the Six Nations. Red Jacket Monument, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).



Figure 25: Replica of Tomahawk given to Red Jacket by George Washington. Red Jacket Monument, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).





Figure 26: Replica of Silver Peace Medal given to Red Jacket by George Washington. Red Jacket Monument, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

## **Discussion**

The story behind the *Red Jacket Monument* in Buffalo's Forest Lawn Cemetery may seem disrespectful when taken into account that Red Jacket had not wished to be buried in a white cemetery. However, due to Chief Strong's appeal to the city of Buffalo, the Seneca man essentially gave the citizens of Buffalo permission to rebury Red Jacket in Forest Lawn Cemetery. William C. Bryant, the patron behind the efforts to move Red Jacket's remains and to erect a monument in his honor, did not wish to disrespect the Seneca or Red Jacket's wishes. Although guilt was a primary factor, Bryant and other members of the Buffalo Historical Society created an image of Red Jacket, based off of his qualities that would be suitable for the citizens of Buffalo to admire. In a time period full of strikes, immigration, and economic and political corruption, Red Jacket's qualities of patriotism and devotion to his tribe were stressed in order to promote the ideal citizen within the social fractures of the Gilded Age. The monument also leans away from public art that depicted Native of Americans as inferior. Due to the monument's large

and imposing stature in a Christian cemetery, Red Jacket is stressed as equal, or perhaps even greater to those that surround him in Forest Lawn's borders.

## **The McKinley Monument**

### **Introduction**

When faced with the problem of interpreting controversial events in American history, the patrons of the *Red Jacket Monument* responded with a statue that symbolized the characteristics of the ideal American citizen. Red Jacket's death and the removal of the Seneca Indians from the Buffalo Creek Reservation had long passed at the time of the monument's erection. However, in 1901, Buffalo's citizens were faced with interpreting an horrific event that occurred during what was supposed to be Buffalo's finest hour. On September 6, 1901, William McKinley, president of the United States, was shot during the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition. The incident essentially ruined the event, and McKinley later died from the infectious wound. Just one year later, two New York State Senators, Henry W. Hill, and John H. Bradley, proposed a bill that would allocate the necessary funds for the construction of a monument to McKinley in Buffalo.<sup>290</sup>

The *McKinley Monument* (Figure 26) was completed by 1906 and was dedicated on September 5, 1907. The monument is located in Niagara Square, a piece of land that was laid out by Joseph Ellicott to serve as the center of the city.<sup>291</sup> Consisting of a ninety-six-foot-tall marble obelisk, the monument is surrounded by marble lions, each of which are twelve feet long and weigh twelve tons. A fountain is located at the base of the obelisk and is detailed with ornamental turtles. Architect Daniel H. Burnham supervised the project, while Carrere and

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<sup>290</sup> "A McKinley Monument in Buffalo," Buffalo Evening News, (Buffalo, NY), February 5, 1902.

<sup>291</sup> Reyner Banham, Francis Kowsky, and Charles Beveridge, *Buffalo Architecture: A Guide*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 54.



Hastings, the architects of the Pan-American Exposition, designed the monument. The animal sculptures were designed by Alexander Phimister Proctor.<sup>292</sup>

The *McKinley Monument* can be seen as an example of patronage and public art that combines the ideas that have been discussed in the previous three case studies. The monument embodies the heroic virtues and qualities admired by patrons during the Gilded Age, the interpretation of U.S. Presidents into American symbols, and the challenge faced by patrons in interpreting controversial events through public art. The *McKinley Monument* can also represent one of the last pieces of Buffalo's public art within the studied time period (1870- 1910). The monument also possesses roots within the City Beautification Movement, a nation-wide effort to not only beautify cities, but to promote a sense of community and civic reform.<sup>293</sup>



Figure 27: The McKinley Monument, (1907), Buffalo, NY, by John Mervin Carrere and Thomas Hastings. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Phillip Pregill and Nancy Volkman, *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions*, (Chicago: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999), 584.

## President William McKinley

The story behind the *McKinley Monument* begins with William McKinley, whose expansionist policies brought confidence to the America people and made him into the most popular president since Abraham Lincoln.<sup>294</sup> McKinley's stature had already been discussed previously in this work, as his success in Cuba and the Philippines, the annexation of Hawaii, and the opening of free trade with China created a sense of national unity and triumph.<sup>295</sup> McKinley's connection with Buffalo is best described by author Roger Pickenpaugh in his work, *McKinley, Murder and the Pan-American Exposition: A History of the Presidential Assassination, September 6, 1901*. Pickenpaugh relays the idea that Buffalo and its exposition were in step with McKinley's views. McKinley represented the marriage between industrialization and conservative politics. Buffalo had emerged as a major industrial center whose growth was supported by McKinley's protective tariffs.<sup>296</sup>

McKinley's assailant, Leon Czolgosz, represented the opposition to the systems of industrialization and capitalism. As the son of immigrant parents, Czolgosz worked a variety of factory jobs. His life came with little opportunity and he soon became disillusioned with American capitalism.<sup>297</sup> By assassinating McKinley, Czolgosz initiated the last product of public art within Buffalo's Gilded Age.

## The Pan-American Exposition

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<sup>294</sup> Goldman, 4.

<sup>295</sup> Thomas, 13.

<sup>296</sup> Roger Pickenpaugh, *McKinley, Murder and the Pan-American Exposition, a History of the Presidential Assassination, September 6, 1901*, (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016), 2.

<sup>297</sup> Pickenpaugh., 2.

The assassination of William McKinley took place in Buffalo during the Pan-American Exposition. The exposition was held from May until November of 1901. Inspired by Chicago's World Fair in 1893, forty Buffalo businessmen gathered in January of 1899 to discuss the possibility of such an event in Buffalo. Led by the example of Frank Baird, a wealthy iron manufacturer in Buffalo, pledged \$500,000 for the event and other businessmen soon followed.<sup>298</sup> With \$1,200,000 raised, twenty-five Buffalo businessmen boarded a train to Washington D.C. to appeal to congress.<sup>299</sup> The men decided on a theme that would honor the progress of Western Hemisphere. No Old Countries were allowed to install formal exhibits, however, Latin American countries that U.S. had recently fought and annexed, were encouraged to do so.<sup>300</sup>

With this interesting theme, the Buffalo businessmen also reminded congress of Buffalo's accomplishments. The city had become the eighth largest in the United States, it possessed one of the busiest ports in the world, was home to many rich businessmen and two former presidents in Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland and featured some of the country's greatest architecture and park systems thanks to the work of H.H. Richardson, Louis Sullivan, and Frederick Law Olmsted.<sup>301</sup> With these factors working in their favor, congress approved of the men's proposition.<sup>302</sup>

The Pan American Exposition and William McKinley had many similarities. Mark Goldman, author of *High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo, New York*, echoed this connection regarding McKinley and Buffalo in stating:

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<sup>298</sup> Margaret Creighton, *The Electrifying Fall of Rainbow City: Spectacle and Assassination at the 1901 World's Fair*, (New York City: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016), 1.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

William McKinley, the leading spokesman of a newly discovered national strength and brazen self-confidence, was extremely popular. His appeal, particularly in Buffalo, the city whose international exposition embodied and glorified the goals of the president's expansionist foreign policy, was vast.<sup>303</sup>

With the pride McKinley had instilled upon American citizens, Buffalo became the national symbol of the country's pride.<sup>304</sup> A few months after the Pan-American Exposition's opening, McKinley, despite the warnings, insisted on attending. McKinley arrived in Buffalo at 5:00 P.M. on Tuesday, September 4, 1901.<sup>305</sup> He did not make his way into the exposition until the following day, however, he was met with a colorful display of fireworks that spelled out, "Welcome President McKinley, Chief of our Nation and our Empire."<sup>306</sup>

The following morning, McKinley made his way to the Temple of Music where he was scheduled to meet with thousands of people. At 4:00 P.M. the doors of the building opened and hundreds of people formed an orderly line to meet McKinley. When it came his turn, Czolgosz, using a handkerchief to conceal a handgun, shot McKinley twice in the stomach. McKinley was rushed from the exposition, where he was operated on by Dr. Matthew Mann, the city's leading gynecologist.<sup>307</sup> What followed was an all-out investigation to locate Czolgosz's accomplices. Police purged the entire Polish East Side of Buffalo, arresting anyone that had any past connections to Czolgosz.<sup>308</sup> Czolgosz claimed he had no accomplices, although he did confess that he was inspired by the teachings of Emma Goldman, an anarchist writer and speaker. After dozens of her colleagues were arrested in Chicago, Goldman attempted to escape, but did not make it out of the city. The police detained Goldman for fifteen days. Although innocent, she

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<sup>303</sup> Goldman, 4.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

was no longer allowed to lecture in Chicago. Her family suffered from the incident and her father was excommunicated from his synagogue in Rochester.<sup>309</sup>

Despite the optimism of McKinley recovering, his health weakened. The second bullet was never found or removed. Gangrene had set into the bullet's path and by September 13<sup>th</sup>, McKinley's health rapidly declined.<sup>310</sup> He died the following morning at 2:10 A.M. and for the first time, the exposition was closed.<sup>311</sup> The death of McKinley further accelerated the downfall of the exposition. Director William Buchanan attempted to save the event by declaring November 1<sup>st</sup> as "Buffalo Day." The effort failed. Buffalo mayor Conrad Diehl refused to make the day a civic holiday. W.C. Ely, president of the International Street Railroad Company and one of the directors of the exposition, refused to lower streetcar fares for the day.<sup>312</sup>

Buffalo Day ended in complete destruction as visitors to the exposition rioted and destroyed the majority of temporary buildings along the fair's midway.<sup>313</sup> One week later, John Milburn, the president of the exposition, reported that the exposition had lost over six million dollars.<sup>314</sup> The event had ended in violence and destruction. Most importantly, William McKinley, the president of the United States, had been shot and killed. It was not long before the citizens of Buffalo began the process of erecting a monument to the martyred president.

### **Early Monument Efforts to William McKinley**

McKinley's assassination in the city made Buffalo a prime setting for a monument in his honor. By January of 1902, just two months after the end of Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition, talks were ensued by local government officials who wished construct a memorial to

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<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., 19.

McKinley.<sup>315</sup> Two New York State Senators and residents of Buffalo, Henry W. Hill, and John H. Bradley, put together a bill known as the “Bradley-Hill Bill” that would give the city \$100,000 from the state treasury. The money from the state was a reappropriation of funds given to them by the New York State Pan-American Board.<sup>316</sup>

The two proprietors of the bill, Hill and Bradley, helped the bill to pass through state legislature and therefore can be considered two of the early patrons of the McKinley Monument. Henry Hill’s experience with politics began with his father, who was a member of the Vermont State Legislature from 1849 to 1850. He attended the University of Vermont, graduating with honors in 1876. Hill started off his career in higher education but was later admitted the bar in 1884. In May of that same year, he began working for the firm of Andrews & Hill in Buffalo. Hill became involved with politics in the early 1890s and served as a Republican on the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1894, the New York State Assembly, and was elected to the New York State Senate in 1901.<sup>317</sup> Hill was a staunch Republican, and like many of the patrons we have examined in the previous chapters, possessed some kind of connection to the Buffalo Historical Society. Although Hill did hold presidency of the society, he acted as their recording secretary.<sup>318</sup>

Unlike Hill, John H. Bradley’s political alliance belonged to the Democratic Party. Bradley was born in Buffalo in 1850 and was forced to work from a young age. Bradley did not possess any form of higher education. He instead worked for various gas companies and was later in charge of the inspection work for the Buffalo Gas Company. Bradley began his political

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<sup>315</sup> “All Say Pass the Bradley Bill. Everybody in Favor of the Monument to McKinley in Niagara Square. Little Opposition at Albany to Passage of the Measure!” *Buffalo Evening News* (Buffalo, NY), January 27, 1902.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Edgar L. Murlin, *The New York Red Book*, (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1897), 220.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

career in 1888, when he was elected as an Alderman from the First Ward of Buffalo. He was later elected as an assemblyman to the New York State Assembly in 1899.<sup>319</sup>

Despite their political differences, the two men's partnership in pursuing a monument to McKinley represented the era in which McKinley eased political tensions. McKinley's leadership in creating a sense of national strength and confidence exceeded party lines.<sup>320</sup> The Spanish-America War of 1898, one of McKinley's victories that gave the United States newly found prestige, turned attention away from what was wrong with America to what was right.<sup>321</sup>

Although the majority of Buffalo's officials supported the bill, the location of the monument was disputed. Christian Klinck, a prominent Buffalo businessman, argued for the monument's location to be opposite of the Buffalo Savings Bank on Genesee and Main Streets.<sup>322</sup> Another businessman, J.B. Conrad, wanted to see the monument in the very place where the president was shot.<sup>323</sup> Despite these suggestions, the majority of Buffalonians interviewed advocated for the monument to be located in Niagara Square. William Hengerer a respected citizen in Buffalo and senior partner of the Buffalo dry goods store known as The William Hengerer Company, made an interesting case on why the monument should be located in Niagara Square. Hengerer stated:

Certainly, I am in favor of the project- heartily in favor of it. I think Niagara Square is the best spot in town for such a monument. That might be the beginning of beautifying the Square which has been talked about for years. If a handsome monument were erected there, the surroundings would naturally be embellished to be in keeping with the monument.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Edgar L Murlin, *The New York Red Book*, (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, Publishers, 1908), 111.

<sup>320</sup> Goldman, 4.

<sup>321</sup> Calhoun., 31.

<sup>322</sup> 'All Say Pass the Bradley Bill. Everybody in Favor of the Monument to McKinley in Niagara Square. Little Opposition at Albany to Passage of the Measure!'

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

Hengerer's opinion on beautifying Niagara Square was not uncommon, as other Buffalonians such as Attorney H.C. Wadsworth offered a similar opinion:

It is time we had something in Niagara Square besides a dreary expanse of pavement. Buffalo has paid too little attention to the work of beautifying its public places. It is eminently proper that a monument in honor of the late President should be erected in the city, and a better place than Niagara Square could not be found for a memorial of that kind.<sup>325</sup>

These suggestions that related to using the monument as a means of beautifying Niagara Square represents the efforts of the City Beautification Movement of the late nineteenth century.

Although the movement essentially meant to increase the attractiveness of the city, it had much deeper meanings that related to the social and civic well-being of the United States.

### **City Beautification Movement**

The City Beautification Movement in the United States began in the late nineteenth century and was accelerated by the model of Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Daniel H. Burnham, advised the layout of the fair, and implemented a series of boulevards, classical buildings, and lush gardens.<sup>326</sup> Outside of the aesthetic aspect, major theorists of the movement such as Charles Mulford Robinson stated that, "social problems are to a large degree problem of the environment."<sup>327</sup> To this degree, supporters of the movement believed that it could enhance a sense of community and to initiate political and social reform.<sup>328</sup> In terms of public art and monuments, advocates believed that their existence as a form of "civic art" would serve utilitarian, moral, and educational functions.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>326</sup> Bluetone, 245.

<sup>327</sup> Pregill and Volkman, 584.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

<sup>329</sup> Knight, 2.



With these intentions of the City Beautification Movement, it is easy to bridge the values between this movement and others that have been previously discussed. One such is the Culture of Reconciliation, in which its supporters supported sectional reunion in order to solve the troubling social fractures of the Gilded Age. In conjunction, these two movements represented a conservative reaction to solve issues in American society such as strikes, immigration, and political corruption. Leon Czolgosz's assassination of William McKinley was a prime, if not the most prominent, example of how American society could deteriorate.

### **The McKinley Monument in Buffalo, New York**

By February 5, 1902, the Board of Supervisors all voted in favor of the Bradley-Hill Bill, and shortly thereafter, the bill was adopted by a unanimous vote by the members of the state assembly and senate.<sup>330</sup> The state allowed for the entitlement of Buffalo to receive up to \$100,000 to accommodate the cost of the monument for McKinley. The governor of New York, Benjamin Odell, appointed a board of five members, two of which had to be residents of Buffalo, and all of whom had to be residents of New York State.<sup>331</sup> The members chosen were Edward H. Butler, Chairman; George E. Mathews, Secretary, and Wilson S. Bissel, all of whom were from Buffalo. The other two were John G. Milburn of New York City, and A.E. Curtice of Fredonia.<sup>332</sup>

Although not many sources can be located to attest A.E. Curtice's prominence, the other four men were unmistakably influential in New York. George E. Matthews was president of the J.N. Matthews Co., the publishers of the *Buffalo Express*.<sup>333</sup> Edward H. Butler was also a

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<sup>330</sup> "Supervisors Go on Record for the Monument: Resolution Introduced by Mr. Huff, Approving the Bradley-Hill Bill, Unanimously Adopted," *Buffalo Evening News* (Buffalo, NY) February 5, 1902, 7.

<sup>331</sup> Robert C. Cumming and Frank Gilbert, *Supplement to Cummings & Gilbert's General Laws and General Statutes of the State of New York*, (New York City: The Banks Law Publishing Co., 1905), 609.

<sup>332</sup> *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Buffalo Park Commissioners*, (Buffalo: Press of the Buffalo Commercial, 1908), 22.

<sup>333</sup> "Up-State New York," *Printing Trade News* (New York City), January 14, 1911, 15.

prominent newspaper man as he published the first edition of the *Buffalo Evening News* on October 11, 1880.<sup>334</sup> Bissel and Milburn were both lawyers who both possessed connections to Buffalo. Milburn served as President of the Pan-American Exposition and had since relocated to New York City. Bissel was a man of great political stature as he maintained a close friendship with Grover Cleveland. One of Buffalo's leading lawyers and a staunch Democrat, Bissel went as far as serving as on Grover Cleveland's Presidential Cabinet in 1893.<sup>335</sup> All of these men were profoundly important in their respected careers. However, when faced with selecting an architect and sculptor, it was perhaps Milburn's influence that decided it.

Attesting to the amount of funds Buffalo received to erect the monument, the committee called in Daniel H. Burnham, who at the time was considered one of the country's leading architects. Since the escalation of Burnham's fame from the Chicago World Fair, he had risen to Chairman of the Senate Park Commission and also served as Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts.<sup>336</sup> As many Buffalonians had requested the monument be placed in Niagara Square to beautify the area, Burnham's connection to the City Beautification Movement made him a perfect candidate to manage the project.

Both Milburn's influence as President of the Pan-American Exposition, and Burnham's experience from the Chicago World Fair, led to sculptors John Mervyn Carrere and Thomas Hastings being chosen for the job. The two had worked with Burnham during the Chicago World Fair and had also been the leading artists behind the Pan-American Exposition.<sup>337</sup> The crew of

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<sup>334</sup> "Archives & Special Collections: Edward H. Butler Family Papers (1880-1956)," *E.H. Butler Library*, <https://library.buffalostate.edu/archives/ehbutler> (Accessed June 20, 2018).

<sup>335</sup> Stanley Waterloo and John Wesley Hanson Jr., *Famous American Men and Women: A Complete Portrait Gallery of Celebrated People, Whose Names Are Prominent in the Annals of the Times*, (Chicago: Wabash Publishing House, 1896), 130.

<sup>336</sup> "D.H. Burnham in Buffalo, NY," Buffalo as an Architectural Museum, <http://buffaloah.com/a/archs/burn/index.html> (Accessed June 20, 2018).

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

Burnham, Carrere, and Hasting's work in accelerating the City Beautification Movement during the Chicago World Fair embodied them with the necessary tools to appease Buffalo's officials that had supported a monument to McKinley in 1902. Construction on the monument began in 1904 and was completed by July, 1906.<sup>338</sup> One year later, on September 6, 1907, the McKinley Monument was formally dedicated and featured an address by Charles E. Hughes, the Governor of New York. When finished, the monument was called, "one of the most imposing shafts in the world."<sup>339</sup>

### **The Physical Features of the *McKinley Monument***

In designing the monument, Burnham suggested an obelisk, with fountains at the base.<sup>340</sup> Similar obelisks had been erected at the Chicago fair, and the simplistic design was said to attest to the simplistic character of President McKinley.<sup>341</sup> Other prominent features of the monument that were chosen were the carved sleeping lions, symbolizing strength, and the carved turtles, representing eternal life, all of which were sculpted by Alexander Phimister Proctor, another Pan-American artist (Figure 28).<sup>342</sup> Lastly, the engraving of the monument states, "William McKinley died in Buffalo September 14, 1901, victim of a treacherous assassin, who shot the President as he was extending the hand of courtesy."<sup>343</sup>

In analyzing the monument, its design makes it an imposing structure that serves both aesthetic and civic functions. Through its connection with the City Beautification Movement, the monument is attractive and pleasing to the eye. As products of the City Beautification Movement were to promote political and social reform among other improvements in society, the McKinley

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<sup>338</sup> *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Buffalo Park Commissioners*, 23.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>340</sup> "D.H. Burnham in Buffalo, NY."

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, and also, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Buffalo Park Commissioners*, 23.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>343</sup> *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Buffalo Park Commissioners*, 23.

*Monument* can be seen as a piece of public art that directly enforces that the ideals of that movement. The narrative of McKinley's assassination inscribed on the monument promotes him as a heroic example of a man as well as he was merely "extending the hand of courtesy to Czolgosz.



Figure 28: *Lion, The McKinley Monument, (1907), Buffalo, NY, by John Mervin Carrere, Thomas Hastings, and Alexander Phimister Proctor. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*



Figure 29: Turtle, The McKinley Monument, (1907), Buffalo, NY, by John Mervin Carrere, Thomas Hastings, and Alexander Phimister Proctor. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

## Discussion

The patrons of the *McKinley Monument*, like many in the previous case studies, were prominent men of wealth and political importance. Although one obvious motivation behind the patrons of the monument can be seen as to honor the man who had been assassinated in Buffalo, the choice of architects and sculptors clearly reflected the desire to relay the ideals of the City Beautification Movement upon the design of the McKinley Monument. In promoting a sense of community and moral standards, the monument is once again an example of a conservative backlash to strikes, immigration, and political corruption. As Leon Czolgosz's actions were far from the ideals of upper-class American society, the McKinley Monument can also serve as a reminder of what the deterioration of American society could produce.

## Chapter 4

### Conclusion

In studying the relationship between Public Art and Patronage in Buffalo from 1870-1910, it is right to conclude that all four of these case studies were the products of upper-class residents of society. All in all, “the Spirit of Buffalo,” that was spoken of in the 1946 article within the *Buffalo-Courier Express*, was decided by those who had the funds and wealth to do so. These wealthy men, and in the case of the Ladies Union Monument Association, women, saw the troubling fractures of their period such as immigration, strikes, poverty, and economic and political corruption as a dangerous wave to the moral compass of American society. To combat these civic fractures, the patrons of these four monuments created these works of public art to promote a better society.

*The Soldiers and Sailors Monument*, erected by the Ladies Union Monument Association, was a monument aimed at easing the issue of sectional tension by promoting the qualities of the common soldier that was evident in both Union and Confederate statues. The

*Lincoln, the Emancipator Monument*, erected by the Lincoln Birthday Association and the Buffalo History Museum, represented Lincoln's rise as a national symbol. This statue was largely due to Lincoln's representation by the social elite as being a "cultivated and spiritual if still vigorous representative of the leadership democracy could produce at its best."<sup>344</sup> The *Red Jacket Memorial*, although controversial in its erection, was the effort of the Buffalo Historical Society to establish Red Jacket in the white history of Buffalo. In order to do so, he was remembered not for his hostility to American culture, but for his devotion and dedication to his tribe, which metaphorically, represented that of an American citizen's loyalty to his country. Lastly, the *McKinley Monument* and its connection with the City Beautification Movement also attests to the betterment of American society as the movement strove to achieve it through art. A monument to McKinley, whose assassination surely troubled that of the upper-class, was the perfect example of the dangers that the United States had come to possess by the late nineteenth century. As a product of Burnham, Carrere, and Hastings, all men who had inspired the City Beautification Movement through their work at the Chicago World Fair, the *McKinley Monument* was created as a reminder of the problems facing the country as well as a solution to them.

After 1910, the citizens of Buffalo continued to erect monuments throughout the city. However, with the Progressive Era in full swing by the early twentieth century, other groups of individuals such as immigrants began to construct their own statues. One example of such is the *Verdi* statue (1907) that sits in Forest Lawn Cemetery and was erected by Buffalo's Italian-American community. Another major development in the relationship between patronage and public art came from the Great Depression. Starting in the 1930s, the United States government

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<sup>344</sup> Thomas, 9.

began to pay unemployed artists through the Work Progress Administration.<sup>345</sup> As federally sponsored art, works from this period pertained to the, “the common man,” a symbol of both democracy and the government’s concern for the well-being of its citizens.<sup>346</sup>

As stated by the 1946 article in the *Buffalo-Courier Express*, “War II Heroes Have No Future in Stone Here: Statuary Memorials Losing Their Appeal,” commemoration of historical figures shifted away from statues and into the names of hospitals and playgrounds.<sup>347</sup> Despite this, public art lived on. With the passing of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965 under the Johnson Administration, federal funds for public art were placed within the hands of individuals, who were then free to engage themselves in expressing the American fundamental of individualism.<sup>348</sup> This event set an important precedent for public art through the twentieth century and into the present. As an individualistic art form, the patrons behind this modern era of public art have dedicated funding to bring social issues into view. One such example of this in Buffalo is *The Freedom Wall* (2017), a public art project sponsored by the Albright-Knox Art Gallery with funding from the city of Buffalo and Erie County. Located on Buffalo’s East Side, the wall honors Civil Rights leaders from the past and present that have combated racial issues in American society. Although the major theme of commemorating historical figures through public art has always existed, *The Freedom Wall* is just one of many examples from this modern age of public art that have allowed minority groups to promote their own narratives within American History.

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<sup>345</sup> Senie, 134.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>347</sup> “War II Heroes Have No Future in Stone Here: Statuary Memorials Losing Their Appeal,” 2-B.

<sup>348</sup> Senie., 159.



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## Appendix

*Figure 4: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 5: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1877), Boston, Massachusetts, by Martin Millmore. Taken from [www.fineartamerica.com](http://www.fineartamerica.com).*

*Figure 6: Civil War Monument (1889), Westfield, New Jersey. It was produced by the Monumental Bronze Company in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Taken from [www.nj.com](http://www.nj.com).*

*Figure 4: Bertie County Confederate Soldiers Monument (1896), Windsor, North Carolina. Also produced by the Monumental Bronze Company, its features are directly identical to that of the statue in Westfield, New Jersey. The outfit, stance, and uniform are in unison. Taken from [www.legion.org](http://www.legion.org).*

*Figure 5: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Three out of the four eight-foot figures are seen representing the cavalry, navy, and artillery. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 6: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Eight-foot figure representing the infantry. Notice the “soldier at rest position.” Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 7: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Neo-classical statue of a woman representative of the City of Buffalo. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 8: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. Relief depicting Lincoln’s original cabinet. From left to right: Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of State William H. Seward, Attorney-General Edward Bates, Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair, Lincoln, Interior Secretary Caleb Smith, Navy Secretary Gideon Welles, Major General Winfield Scott, and War Secretary Simon Cameron. The document in Lincoln’s right hand is his call for 75,000 volunteers. The document in Seward’s left hand is the Emancipation Proclamation. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 9: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. A soldier is seen in the middle of the relief giving a final farewell to a woman and child. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 10: The Soldiers and Sailors Monument (1884), Buffalo, New York by Casper Buberl and George Keller. The anvil and wheel are symbolic of Buffalo’s industries, while the woman crying is that of sacrifice. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 11: Lincoln, The Emancipator, (1902), Buffalo, New York, by Charles H. Niehaus. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 12: Lincoln and the Emancipated Slave (1866), by Randolph Rodgers. Photo taken from [https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/musart/x-1885.3/\\*](https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/musart/x-1885.3/*).*

Figure 13: *Lincoln the Man* (1887), by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois. Taken from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abraham\\_Lincoln,\\_The\\_Man\\_statue\\_by\\_Augustus\\_Saint-Gaudens,\\_Lincoln\\_Park,\\_Chicago,\\_early\\_to...\\_\(NBY\\_3046\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abraham_Lincoln,_The_Man_statue_by_Augustus_Saint-Gaudens,_Lincoln_Park,_Chicago,_early_to..._(NBY_3046).jpg).

Figure 14: *Lincoln, The Emancipator*, (1902), Buffalo, New York, by Charles H. Niehaus. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 15: *Lincoln, The Emancipator*, (1902), Buffalo, New York, by Charles H. Niehaus. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 16: *Red Jacket Monument*, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 17: *Baptism of Pocahontas*, (1839), Washington D.C., by John Gadsby Chapman. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).

Figure 18: *Embarkation of Pilgrims*, (1843), Washington D.C., by Robert W. Weir. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov)

Figure 19: *Landing of Columbus*, (1846), Washington D.C., by John Vanderlyn. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).

Figure 20: *Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto*, (1853), Washington D.C., by William H. Powell. Photo taken from [www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov).

Figure 21: *Pioneer Monument*, (1894), San Francisco, California, by Frank Happersberger. Photo taken from [www.wikimedia.org](http://www.wikimedia.org).

Figure 22: "Early Days," *Pioneer Monument*, (1894), San Francisco, California, by Frank Happersberger. Photo taken from [www.wikimedia.org](http://www.wikimedia.org).

Figure 23: *Pedestal of gray Rhode Island granite. Red Jacket Monument*, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 24: *Hexagonal, symbolizing Red Jackets connection with the Six Nations. Red Jacket Monument*, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 25: *Replica of Tomahawk given to Red Jacket by George Washington. Red Jacket Monument*, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 26: *Replica of Silver Peace Medal given to Red Jacket by George Washington. Red Jacket Monument*, (1890), Buffalo, New York, by James G.C. Hamilton. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

Figure 27: *The McKinley Monument*, (1907), Buffalo, NY, by John Mervin Carrere and Thomas Hastings. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).

*Figure 28: Lion, The McKinley Monument, (1907), Buffalo, NY, by John Merven Carrere, Thomas Hastings, and Alexander Phimister Proctor. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*

*Figure 29: Turtle, The McKinley Monument, (1907), Buffalo, NY, by John Merven Carrere, Thomas Hastings, and Alexander Phimister Proctor. Photo taken from [www.buffaloah.com](http://www.buffaloah.com).*